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ABSTRACT

Changes in access to higher education with regard to sex, race, and social class of college students during 1940-1980, a period of expansion in higher education, are analyzed. Seven hypotheses concerning access to higher education are examined, based on statistical data from various sources. It is hypothesized that race, sex, and class differentials in access to higher education have narrowed during this period. It is also hypothesized that financial factors affect where people go to college and that stratification within higher education has become greater over time. It is concluded that since at least 1965, there has been an increase in college access among those of lower socioeconomic origins. While in 1940, men and women 25-29 years old had completed at least some college in about equal proportions, by 1960, men had a 50 percent advantage. In the last decade, women have almost reached parity with men in terms of college attendance, but in terms of retention, institutions have been more successful with men than with women. Race differentials in access to higher education have also narrowed between 1940 and the present, though most of the narrowing has been due to the increased rates of high school graduation among minorities. It is suggested that recognition as legitimate pressure groups has enabled blacks and women to make greater inroads into the better higher education institutions, while those from lower social origins have not achieved significant political mobilization and have tended to be more skewed toward the lower end of the higher education hierarchy. Problems involved in attempting to reconstruct data on college access from diverse sources are addressed. (SW)

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Trends in Racial, Sexual, and Class Inequality in Access To American Higher Education: 1940-1980

Project on Politics and Inequality
in
American Higher Education

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I. Introduction

One of the most significant trends in the American stratification system since World War II has been the expansion and differentiation of the system of higher education (Bell, 1972, Jencks and Riesman, 1968; Nasaw, 1979; Trow, 1962). Between 1945 and 1975, for instance, the percentage of 18-21 year-olds attending college ("undergraduate resident degree-credit") increased from 16% to over 45% (Grant and Lind, 1979: 92; American Council on Education, 1977: 77.78). In addition, there has been a large shift in the distribution of enrollments toward both public institutions and two-year colleges. In 1946, first-time degree credit students divided themselves approximately evenly between public and private institutions. By 1975, more than three-quarters of college entrants were enrolled in public institutions (Grant and Lind, 1979: 93). Two-year colleges have increased their share of total enrollment from 17.7% in 1963 to 35.8% in 1977 (calculated from tables 81 and 96 in Grant and Lind, 1979: 89, 102) and, between 1973 and 1977, while all institutions increased their enrollments by 17.5%, these institutions grew by 34.3 percent (Grant and Lind, 1979: 88).

In view of the strong association between educational and occupational attainment (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Jencks et al., 1979), it is important, in examining processes of stratification over time, to understand the class, racial, and sexual distribution of college entrants and to find out where within the system of higher education these groups have been and are located. For if, as Bell argues, "the university ... has become the arbiter of class position," (1972: 410) then the question of who goes to college has become increasingly important in understanding a person's further attainments. And, to the extent that where people go to college affects, among other things, their earnings (Reed and Miller, 1970; Jencks et al., 1979), the

distribution of various groups at different levels of the higher education hierarchy assumes great relevance.

While the growth and differentiation of the system certainly signal its general importance with respect to processes of stratification, specific questions have arisen in recent years as to when various groups had begun to use higher education as avenues of social mobility, to what kinds of institutions of higher education they have been allocated, and whether these groups are continuing to use higher education in their mobility projects. These questions are intertwined with the effects of the downturn in the market for college graduates in the 1970's and with demands by subordinate groups, e.g. women and blacks, for access to institutions of higher education. They also concern the extent to which and whether the changes in the distribution of various groups in higher education as a whole have been associated with changes in the distribution of these groups in different segments of the system.

In this paper, I shall consider seven specific hypotheses concerning access to higher education. Although I will not be able to accept or reject each of them, due to problems in data comparability, I shall bring to bear all available data that address the issues involved. A special effort will be made to present data on the distribution of people within the system of higher education, despite the fact that these were collected only very unsystematically before 1966.

The seven hypotheses are:

1. Race differentials in access to higher education have narrowed over time.
2. Sex differentials in access to higher education have narrowed over time.

3. Class differentials in access to higher education have narrowed over time.
4. Women, having established themselves as legitimate pressure groups, have made greater inroads into the better institutions of higher education (even into elite universities) than they had previously.

5. Minorities, having established themselves as legitimate pressure groups, have made greater inroads into the better institutions of higher education (even into elite universities) than they had previously.

6. Stratification within higher education has become greater over time - the distribution of working class people into lower tier institutions will have become greater and their distribution into upper tier institutions will have become lesser over time.
7. Even if financial factors do not affect whether people go to college (as Jencks and Riesman (1968) assert), financial factors affect <u>where</u> people go to college.

* * * * *

Before turning to each of these hypotheses, I must mention some of the problems involved in attempting to reconstruct data on college access from diverse sources. Most of these problems concern the comparability and reliability of the data, which, in turn, affect one's ability and confidence in making inferences. Optimally, in order to test these hypotheses, I would want data from a panel study of nationally representative sample of seventh graders followed through approximately age thirty-five. With five years separating each of the cohorts from 1940 to the present, the task that I have set myself would be considerably easier and much more reliable. I would be able to document precisely who and precisely when people dropped out of (or were eliminated from) or returned to the educational system. Needless to say, utopia is no place in sight: these data are not available. Although some longitudinal studies have been done, e.g. TALENT, EEO, NLS, they are not extremely helpful in testing these hypotheses due to their questionable comparability, sample attrition, and the fact that those from minority groups, and especially males, are disproportionately less likely to be included in the baseline data (especially so for the NLS).

Data on particular age cohorts have their own sets of problems. While longitudinal data on particular age cohorts would certainly be of great use, they are rarely collected. Cross-sectional population data, as collected by the Census and the Current Population Survey, cause the analyst the usual problems of having to infer trends from data collected at one point in time. There is necessarily a conflation of period, life-cycle, and cohort effects. In attempting to link educational attainment to particular age cohorts, one

has to assume, if one is to derive the educational attainment distribution for people at some previous point in time, that the cohort is moving through the educational system at approximately the same rate. Yet there is much variation in precisely when in the life-cycle one begins college or finishes one's education. This problem is particularly relevant for the period around World War II (when veterans constituted a majority of college students and were older than their fellow students, cf. Fredericksen and Schrader, 1951) and in recent years when a large proportion of the college population has been over 25 years of age (cf. Current Population Reports, No. 333).

Another problem concerns the use of retrospective reports of educational attainment to infer enrollment attainment distributions at some previous point in time. Aside from the assumptions about when in the life-cycle people complete their education that one has to make to infer trends (the problem of subsequent completions), there are the additional problems of differential mortality, differential non-reporting, and differential misreporting that must be handled. These manifest themselves, for instance when comparing the percentage of high school graduates among 25-34 year-old males in 1940 to the percentage of high school graduates among 55-64 year-old males in 1970. The percentages are, respectively, 33.1 and 38.4 (CPR Series P-20, No. 15; U.S. Census, 1970, "Educational Attainment" Table 1). While it is true that the questions asked to secure this information were different in the two censuses, the four aforementioned problems certainly account for at least part of the 5.3 percentage point difference. Unfortunately, knowledge of these problems does not imply their solutions. Folger and Nam (1967) suggest for instance, that census data, in general, tend to overstate the "true" level of education of the population. Further, they indicate that over-reporting is more true of older than of younger men. Finally, they infer

from a comparison of figures from the 1940, 1950 and 1960 censuses that rates of high school and college graduation were overstated more in the 1950 census than in the other two. (Folger and Nam, 1967: 223-224; cf. also Folger and Nam, 1964: 255). Hare (1965) and Farley (1968) provide further evidence of unsystematic patterns in the reports of a cohort's educational attainment. Their data confirm that "reported educational attainment rises as a cohort ages" (Farley, 1968: 6) due to all of the factors mentioned above. They are both convinced that "overreporting of education is an important component of this change" (Farley, 1968: 6). With respect to estimating the amount of overreporting, however, they are less certain. Their lack of certainty derives from the fact that the overreporting seems to vary in unsystematic ways by census year, by level of education, by race, and by age.[1]

Thus, in explaining the difference between reports of educational attainment made at younger and older ages, we have suggested a number of factors that may account for the difference but we do not have a method of assigning to each factor an estimate of the percentage of the difference it explains. Differential mortality, which, in principle, could be estimated using Kitagawa and Hauser's (1973) figures, does not seem to account for much of the difference.[2] Therefore, in presenting data from various sources, I shall note the differences that exist and render explicit the relationship between these different reports and the hypotheses being tested.

* * * * *

In the following sections, I shall bring to bear on each hypothesis the available data and determine, to the extent possible, whether it should be accepted or rejected. I shall conclude with an overview of the findings and a summary of the gaps that remain in our knowledge.

II. Race Differentials in Access to Higher Education

The hypothesis, that race differentials in access to higher education have narrowed over time, is put forth for a number of reasons. First, the Brown decision of 1954 and the civil rights movement of the 1960's were likely, by impelling, for example, government action, to have effected higher rates of high school graduation as well as increases in rates of entry for blacks into higher educations. Second, the overall expansion of the system of higher education make it more possible, during this period, for groups that had previously been excluded from higher education to gain access. Third, the black civil rights movement spurred movements by other minorities that affected their educational attainments. Finally, since the labor force as a whole has been upgraded educationally, it has been more necessary for everyone to attain a certain minimum educational level, thus necessarily raising the educational attainments and college entry rates of minorities.

In Table 1, I have compiled, from data on educational attainment by age and color for selected years from 1940 to 1977, the percentage of an age cohort that had ad least been graduated from high school. Two things

(TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE)

are immediately striking: first, there has been a tremendous increase in rates of high school graduation; second, comparing the younger cohorts across years, we see a lessening of the disparities between whites and nonwhites in the percent of a cohort that is graduated from high school. The figures for 1977, which are for blacks rather than nonwhites, are particularly astonishing with respect to the increases that they show, since the data on nonwhites generally overstate the educational attainment of blacks (due to the inclusion of Asians). To summarize this table, it appears that, in the 20-24 year-old age group, generally the most graduated cohort in any

particular time cross-section, graduation rates among whites increased from 47.6 percent in 1940 to 85.1 percent in 1977, while among nonwhites they have increased from 14.8 percent in 1940 to over 3/4 for blacks and over 3/5 for those of Spanish origin in 1977. Thus, in terms of rates of high school graduation, the white/minority differential has closed considerably.

The same cannot be said for college continuation rates. While significant gains have been made, especially during the 1970's, the black/white differential has remained sizable. In Table 2, I present college continuation ratios for blacks, whites, and all races from 1940 to the present. Although these rates, the percentage of people who completed one year of college to the percentage of high school graduates in that cohort, assume that people enter college almost immediately after high school and underestimate the percentage of people who ever set foot in college (because the rates are based on one year completed), they may still be used to estimate trends over time (cf. Suter, 1980). In 1977, 20 and 21 year-old white high school graduates had completed at least one year of college 47.3% of the time, while blacks had done so only 41.7% of the time; a difference of 5.6 percentage points. Back in 1940, it should be pointed out, the difference between white and black males was 3.4 points and between white and black females was 2.3 percentage points in favor of the black women!! As college-going became more necessary, whites were more likely to go than blacks and their differential advantage over blacks increased. The largest differential between white and black men occurred in 1968 and 1970:[a] 20.4 percentage point difference. It was already in 1960, however, that white men were continuing in school at rates 50% higher than blacks. Since 1970, there has been quite a reduction in black/white disparities; by 1977, the ratio of black to white high school graduates who completed at least one year of college was approximately the same as it was in 1940.[3] This is especially impressive since the group

of high school graduates in the 1970's was much larger, and hence, less selected, than the 1940 group.

These college continuation ratios are revealing about certain trends, but tend to mask the overall growth in college attendance, precisely since the group that graduates high school has become so much larger. In Table 3, I have compiled for 25-29 year-olds, the percentage by race that had completed at least some college for various years from 1940 to 1977. (See Table 3) Between 1970 and 1977, both blacks and whites in this age cohort tremendously increased their college-going rates. Twenty-five to twenty-nine year-old whites in 1977 attended college over 40% more often than similarly aged whites did in 1970, while the blacks increased their rate by almost 100%. And yet, whites still attended college at rates 16 percentage points higher than blacks (their advantage had been 17.5 points in 1970). One measure, however, that highlights the tremendous narrowing of the gap between blacks and whites in their college-going rates is the ratio of the percentage of whites to the percentage of blacks having attained at least some college over time. Drawing from Table 3, we see that, in 1940, whites attained some college at rates more than three times that of the nonwhite population, while by 1977, the ratio of percentages of whites to blacks had fallen to 1.5, less than half the initial advantage.

As is immediately obvious, the data on other groups is less than complete. The "other" category, which I assume is mainly Asians, have historically had very high educational attainments.[4] Native Americans have certainly increased their educational attainments between 1940 and the present, though, according to data from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978), their rates of college attendance seem not to have risen as much as those of blacks during the 1970's. Data on Hispanics, aside from being incomplete, are plagued by the changes in definition used by the Census Bureau during the period under consideration. (cf. Brown et al., 1980: 1-2) As with

all groups, most of the increases in college attendance for Hispanics had much to do with the large increases in the percentage of a cohort graduating high school. In 1977, 25-29 year-old Hispanics still lagged behind blacks by more than 7 percentage points in the percentage that had completed at least some college. A rather loose estimate of the college continuation ratio for the Hispanic population may be obtained by using the latest figures from Tables 1 and 3. It seems from this 1977 data that Hispanics who have graduated from high school complete at least one year of college approximately 39% of the time, a figure close to black estimates for that year. Thus, much of the Hispanic handicap with respect to college access is due to lower high school graduation rates (cf. also, Brown et al., 1980). Overall, then, I think it is most useful to indicate that this hypothesis is less relevant for nonblack minorities due to data problems and due to historical differences in the educational development of these groups (especially Asians). To the extent that a comparison between whites and these other minorities may be made, it is probable that for groups other than Asians, there has been some narrowing of the gap if the measure used is the ratio of the percentages of whites to the percentage of the group being considered or if rates of increase for each group are compared. Both of these measures, of course, are extremely sensitive to the initial base to which later figures were compared.

Data from the replicate "Occupational Changes in a Generation" study provide some additional data on race and ethnicity in relation to educational attainments. For groups other than blacks and Hispanics, however, cohort analyses could not be done, due to high sampling variability within these groups. Featherman and Hauser's (1978) analysis of trends in the educational attainment of blacks shows that tremendous gains have been made during this century. Among those born during 1907-1911, 6.0% attained at least some

college (the cohort immediately younger, born in 1912-1916, showed a figure of 4.8%), while in the youngest OCG cohort, born between 1947 and 1951, the comparable figure was 28.9%. (See table 6.2, p. 321) Overall, Featherman and Hauser (1978:334) note that "(W)hat remains of the actual differences in the schooling of young blacks and whites is largely a reflection of the disadvantages of lower social origins and socioeconomic resources for schooling rather than of race per se. Other things being equal, as successive cohorts of blacks enjoy increasingly more favorable social origins, equality of education - at least in years of schooling if not its quality - should follow." Thus, in terms of the process of educational attainment, at least, blacks and whites have converged, once we have controlled for social origins. The effect, however, of Spanish origins on educational attainment was large; men in the second youngest cohort (born 1942-1946) were handicapped by more than one year, once background was controlled, though this was quite an improvement over the older cohorts which were handicapped by more than two years. (cf. Hauser and Featherman, 1976) The effect of race and Spanish origin on educational attainment for the entire OCG sample was -0.5 and -1.3 years respectively, once other background factors had been taken into account. (Hauser and Featherman, 1976: 105)

While aggregate data on educational attainment certainly bear on this hypothesis, more specific evidence about the extent to which blacks are or are not barred from entry to institutions of higher education are even more pertinent. An examination of the percentage of college students in any given year who are black approximates this kind of evidence. Unfortunately, these data are not terribly reliable, and are especially unreliable prior to 1964. It seems, however, in line with what we have found above regarding educational attainment, that blacks have come to occupy representation in the system of higher education that is almost proportional to their

representation in the population. In fact, according to the Current Population Report on "School Enrollment" in 1977 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979: 1), "Black students accounted for 13 percent of all freshmen and sophomores and 13 percent of the total college age population (18 to 21 years old)." In Table 4, I present the data that I have been able to gather on the percentage of college students who are black, for various years from 1940 to the present.[5] It is worth noting at this point that, while black undergraduate enrollments have approached their representation in the population, this has not been the case for black graduate enrollments. Blacks comprised only 6.1% of the graduate student population in 1977, though, it should be noted, this representated a quite an increase over their 3.5% representation in 1970.[6]

As a final indicator that blacks have closed the gap with whites in the percentage gaining access to college, we should look at the percentage of young persons attending or having completed some college, controlling for income. Suter (1980) presents 1977 Current Population Survey data indicating that, at least among dependent family members 18 to 24 years old, the differences in the percentages of blacks and whites that were attending or had completed some college were quite small within the income categories used. And for those in families with incomes between $10-$20,000, blacks held a slight advantage in the percentage that was either enrolled or had completed some college. (Suter, 1980: 26) Finally, it appears that, between 1967 and 1977, there were large increases in the percentage of blacks that were either enrolled or had completed some college. (Suter, 1980: 24)

III. Sex Differentials in Access to Higher Education

Due to the general educational upgrading of the labor force, and especially of the white collar sector in which women have been concentrated, because of the efforts of women to broaden their educational and occupational opportunities, and because these efforts have led to government legislation prohibiting in certain spheres discrimination on the basis of sex, I have hypothesized that sex differentials in access to higher education have narrowed over time.

As opposed to the situation with race, where the dominant white majority held an advantage in college access due mainly to their advantage in high school graduation rates, women have had higher rates of high school graduation than men but lower rates of college access. Table 5 presents high school graduation rates by sex for 1950-1977. Although the most recent data are not complete, we can assume that women have maintained their historical advantage in rates of high school graduation over men. As Grant and Lind (1979: 64) summarize the trends in high school graduation rates:

> In the class of 1977, as in each graduating class since 1870, there were more girls than boys. In recent years, however, boys have accounted for more than 49 percent of each class. This represents a substantial change in the distribution of the graduates since 1920, when girls made up 60 percent of the graduating class. Since girls constituted only about 49 percent of the 17-year-old population in 1977, their graduation rate was several percentage points higher than that for boys.

In addition, as Table 6 indicates, girls have been much less likely than boys to be enrolled below the modal grade for their age, though this tendency seems to have abated slightly at the older ages by 1976 (the last year for which data are available).

And yet despite these clear and persistent advantages of women through age 17, men have not only had greater rates of access to college, but, for

those over 18, had eventually completed high school in proportions greater than those for women of the same ages (See figure 1.)

In Table 7, I have compiled data on educational attainment for 25-29 year-olds by sex between 1940 and 1978. During this period, two changes in the distribution of education have occured. First, and of lesser significance, men have, since 1970, completed high school in proportions slightly greater than those for women in the same age cohort. Second, relative to their 1970 levels, women had, by 1978, increased the percentage who had completed some college by more percentage pointsand by a greater percentage than men had who were of the same age. Nevertheless, there is no gainsaying the fact that, in 1940, men and women were quite equal in their rates of college attendence (though, considering only the high school graduates, men were more likely than women to have completed some college), if somewhat aberrant, being located in the top 1/7 of the population. Between 1940, when less than 1/7 of men and of women were completing any college, and 1978, when over 1/2 of men and over 2/5 of women had completed some college, the slectedness of the students had certainly changed. Perhaps a better indicator would be the period in which a critical mass of over 1/4 of men had attained some college. In 1960, when 27.4% of men 25-29 years-old had completed some college, women of the same age had attained this level less than 19% of the time; men had been college attenders at a rate approxiamately 1 1/2 times that of women. By 1978, however, men had attained this level of education only about 1 and 1/5 times the rate of women. Thus, while, judging from a 1940 statistical point of view, women have <u>not</u> gained in their attainment raes relative to men, the past 18 years have been a period of exceptional growth in women's, relative to men's rates of attainment.

While data on attainment are useful in conservatively estimating access to higher education, enrollment data are more indicative of who is passing

through, if not at all persisting in these institutions. A remarkable change is evident from the fall enrollment data in Table 8: between 1946 and 1977, women went from comprising less than 1/3 of the college student population to becoming almost equally attending partners. There were less than 40 female first time matriculants for every 100 male first-time matriculants in 1946; by 1977, there were 93.

Yet another statistical series on enrollment comes from the Current Population Survey of school enrollment. Based on a sample of the civilian noninstitutional population rather than on a survey of institutions, the CPS data allow for more refined breakdowns at the individual level, e.g. by age. Table 9 includes data on the number of males and females aged 14-34 years-old who were enrolled in college for selected years between 1947 and 1978. These data confirm the general trends noted in Table 8, though it is evident that the census generally undercounts total enrollment as compared to the institutional data.

An interesting change in the age distribution of male and female students has occurred during the 1970's, as is clear from Table 10. Between 1970 and 1978, due mainly to a decline in rates of attendance among males[8], 18-19 year-old women surpassed similarly aged men in their rates of attendance. Though men 25-34 years-old still held a slight edge in rates of attendance over similarly aged women, both sexes in this age group increased their attendance rates, with 30-34 year-old women almost reaching parity with their male counterparts. With respect to college students 35 years-old and over, women have increased their numerical advantage over men from approxi mately 15% greater in 1972 to about 85% greater in 1978. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979: Series p-20, No. 335,p.5).

One caveat concerning the interpretation of these data must be mentioned. While there is no doubt that, especially during the 1970's, women have narrowed

were derived from this underlying conception of higher education and social structure. I have taken three dimensions of differentiation in society - race, sex, and class - and asked whether the resulting aggregates or groups were able to make inroads into higher education during this period. With such a tremendous expansion of the number of students in the system of higher education, I assumed that blacks, women, and people from the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum will have narrowed the gap in their rates of access to college, relative to whites, men, and people of higher social origins, respectively.

Although most previous analyses (Spady, 1967; Mare, 1979) have shown that there has been no diminution in the relationship between father's education and son's education during the course of this century, the presentation above (pp. 17-32) suggests that in the period since at least 1965 there has been an increase in college access among those of lower social origins. With respect to rates of college-going among women, I found, surprisingly, that in 1940, rates of college attainment among men and women were quite similar. Presumably, among the less than one-seventh of the population that was attaining any college at the time, families did not distinguish very much between their son's and daughter's higher schooling.[33] The gap between men's and women's attainments grew until the 1960's; the trend was reversed and the gap has been narrowing in recent years. In terms of enrollments, women have almost reached parity with men; in terms of retention, however, institutions have been more successful with men than with women. (cf. above, pp. 13-16) Race differentials in access to higher education have also narrowed between 1940 and the present, though most of this narrowing has been due to the tremendous increases in rates of high school graduation among minorities (cf. above, pp. 7-12). Overall, then, it does appear that blacks, women, and those of lower social origins have made inroads into the system of higher education.

the college attendance gap vis-a-vis men, it should be noted that women are quite a bit more likely to be enrolled in college part-time than are men. For both men and women, there is a strong positive relationship between age and part-time attendance. (See Table 6, CPR, Series P-20, no. 346: 23) And since women who were 30 years-old and over made up a larger proportion of women attenders than similarly aged males comprised of all men college students, it is likely that women are even more disproportionately represented among part-time attenders than is evident from the data in Table 11. It is also clear from Table 11 that women are increasing their part-time attendance rates faster than are men.

Having summarized these data, we conclude that the hypothesis that sex differentials in access to higher education have diminished over time must be accepted, though in a qualified form. In 1940, men and women who were 25-29 years-old had completed at least some college in approximately equal proportions; and by 1960, men had a 50 percent advantage. By 1978, however, this advantage had been more than halved. With respect to enrollment, it appears that men made up an especially high percentage of the college population immediately after World War II, but this percentage dropped slightly and stabilized during the 1950's. The most rapid rates of increase in both attainment and enrollment for women have occurred during the past decade. It was especially during the 1970's that women have gained access to institutions of higher education and have approached the rates of attainment of men. It must, however, be pointed out that it has been during the very period that women's enrollment rates have grown the fastest that their part-time attendance has also disproportionately accelerated.

IV. Class Differentials in Access to Higher Education

The hypothesis that class differentials in access to higher education have declined over time is related, as was the case with race and sex, to the general educational upgrading of the labor force and to a presumed increase in the extent to which universalism has become the dominant mode of educational advancement in the United States. Although there has not been a working class liberation movement, as there have been black and women's liberation movements, I hypothesize, nevertheless, that class differentials in access to higher education have narrowed over time. Due to the sheer magnitude of the expansion, it is expected that more people from the lower parts of the class structure will have attended. Further, during the 1950's and 1960's, the government made special efforts to locate youth from any and all walks of life so that human resources were not wasted and so that the Free World could use the best minds available in its attempt to dominate the unfree world. In addition, through the 1960's and 1970's various government-supported programs were instituted that provided assistance, if not incentive, for lower-income youth to attend college. Thus, aside from the general educational upgrading of the labor force, the overall expansion of the system of higher education and the involvement of the government in spurring enrollment by lower-income youth have led me to hypothesize that class differentials have narrowed between 1940 and the present.

Various researchers have found that, during the course of this century , the relationship between an individual's social backround and his or her overall educational attainment has declined (Boudon, 1974; Hauser and Featherman, 1976: 108-109; Featherman and Hauser, 1978). There are also some data to suggest that this decline is evident with respect to access to college as well. These data are of a contradictory sort. Suter (1980:22) presents evidence that, between 1960 and 1977, there might have

been a greater percentage point increase in the percent of persons of college age who were attending or had completed some college among those from families with incomes under $10,000 than among those from families with incomes of over $20,000 (see Table 12). This interpretation, Suter points out, "is consistent with increases in high school graduation rates at lower socio-economic levels..." (1980:22) On the other hand, the same series indicate that between 1967 and 1976 there might have been a decline in attendance at the upper level income levels and stability at the lower levels, thus similarly suggesting that differentials have narrowed (See Current Population Reports, Series S-20, No. 319, 1978: 1,5).

Other studies of the relationship between social backround and college attendance suggest, however, that there has not been much of a decline in the strength of this association. Spady (1967) was perhaps the first, in his article, "Educational Mobility and Access: Growth and Paradoxes," to systematically investigate this question in the context of the tremendous expansion of higher education. He found, with data based on the original Occupational Changes in a Generation CPS supplement, that although there has been a tremendous rise in the attainment levels of the population, rates of college-going among sons of low- and high-status fathers seem to diverge more in the younger than in the older cohorts. Folger and Nam (1967:141) also found that there has not been any diminution in the effect of father's education on son's educational attainment; they argue that educational mobility has resulted from a general eductaional upgrading, independent of the relationship between father's and son's education. Jencks and Riesman (1968:84, 96), in an attempt to combine data from various sources to arrive at an estimate of trends in access to college by social origins, found that stability has marked the relationship between father's and son's educational attainments; the relative advantage held by sons of highly educated fathers over sons whose fathers had not had much education has been

maintained during the twentieth century. Finally, the replicate of the Occupational Changes in a Generation survey yields estimates that do not diverge from the original study. Featherman and Hauser (1978) and Mare (1979) argue that the effects of social origins on college attainment have been stable, if not increasing, across birth cohorts in this century. Mare's analysis, in particular, suggests that once we have taken account of the change in the marginal distribution of educational attainment, there has been quite an increase in the dependence of college attainment on social origins. The relative stability of the regression coefficients across cohorts derives from the offsetting effects of change in the marginal distributions and change in the effects of social origins.

Before presenting data on the relationship between various backround factors and the probability of attending college, I shall briefly review what is known about trends in the social origins of those who drop out of high school. In general, the literature and data have consistently portrayed the dropout as being dispropotionatley male, of lower socioeconomic backround, and from a minority group (Counts, 1922; Hollingshead, 1949; Davie, 1953; Thomas, 1954; Tesseneer and Tesseneer, 1958; Miller, Saleem, and Bryce, 1964; Spady, 1967; Folger and Nam, 1967; Featherman and Hauser, 1978; Mare, 1979; Suter, 1980). Since the data that have been collected on school dropouts are not comparable, I have not been able to construct an accurate time-series on their backrounds.

It is instructive to note for comparative historical purposes, however, that Counts, in The Selective Character of American Secondary Education, presents data from around 1920 that indicate an overrepresentation of children of white-collar families and a large underrepresentation of children of common laborer families attending high school. He also found , in Bridgeport, Connecticut in 1920-21, that while 31 percent of children from all occupational groups were out of school, 85% of the children of common laborer

backrounds and 7% of children from proprietor backrounds were not enrolled (Counts, 1922: 53).

In the years before World War II, estimates of the percentage of an age cohort that does not complete high school range from approximately 50 to 60 percent. Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb (1946:49) estimate, based on 1938 U.S. Office of Education enrollment figures, that approximately 15 percent of youth never reached high school, 42 percent did not reach the third year of high school, and 55 percent did not graduate. Census Bureau data from this period confirm the estimate (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1948). Though no direct evidence on the backrounds of these dropouts is available, we can infer, based on the rates of school years completed for 16-17 year-olds by monthly rental values of their homes, that the probability of completing high school increases monotonically with the rental value of the home. It is also the case that the difference in median years of school completed between 7- and 17-year olds is greater among those from homes with high rental values than among those from homes with low rental values, indicating that progression through the school system is easier and the probability of grade retardation is less for wealthier than for poorer students (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1945: 2, 5-16).

The major change that has occured since before the War is that school attendance has become almost universal for those 15 years of age and under; as of 1977, even 16-17 year-olds were attending school at a rate of 90 percent (See Suter, 1980:5). Thus, backround does not seem to influence enrollment at younger ages or earlier grades as much as it used to. Grade progression, however, according to more recent data, is still heavily dependent on education and income of parents (Folger and Nam, 1967: 54-55; Suter, 1980: 8). And, it seems to be the case that the likelihood of high school graduation is much higher for those who do not

fall behind in school than for those who are substantially scholastically retarded (See Suter, 1980: 13). Thus, although the level of schooling that everyone attains has risen and attrition takes place at later stages, the relationship between backround and educational attainment has continued into the present. As Mare (1979) argues, as we approach the present the percentage of an age cohort that does not make a particular school transition becomes smaller, and for this small percentage the association of attainment with social origins has become stronger.

Data from the 1960 Census, reported by Folger and Nam (1967: 36-44), suggest that approximately 15% of 16-17 year-olds were not enrolled in school and that this percentage varied from about 35% for sons of farm laborers to about 3% for sons and daughters of parents who both had had some college. In 1976, among 18 to 24 year-old dependent family members approximately one of six had not graduated from high school and this ranged from a little less than one-half among those from households with heads having 0-4 years of school or earning less than $5000 to about one in twenty among those from households whose heads had earned $25,000 or more or had had 4 years or more of college.[10] Thus, the relationship between social backround and being a high school dropout was still evident, if somewhat attenuated, in recent times, due to an increase in the proportion of an age cohort graduating from high school.

It is possible, however, despite the unavailability of panel data, to estimate changes in the relationship between backround and probability of dropping out of high school or graduating from high school or attending college with cross-sectional cohort data from the 1973 Occupational Changes in a Generation supplement to the Current Population Survey. Tables 13, 14, and 15 present educational attainment data for men who had been aged 22-31 in 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970, as reported in 1973. These age cohorts correspond to the 55-64, 45-54, 35-44, and 25-34 year-old cohorts for this

survey. Table 13 shows most clearly that, among sons of all social backrounds, the percentage that does not garduate from high school declines as we move from older to younger cohorts. That dropping out of high school was still related to being from a lower socioeconomic backround, however, is evident from the fact that, among those who were 22-31 in 1970 one out of five had not finished high school, but the proportion was more than two out of five among sons whose fathers had not completed elememtary school and about one out of twenty five among those whose fathers had had some college. Table 14 indicates, for the four cohorts, that the distribution of father's educational attainment for those who did not graduate high school was heavily skewed toward the lower end of the eduational spectrum. Most evident from this table, however, is the shift in the educational backrounds of sons as we move from young persons in 1940 to young persons in 1970. Whereas in 1940, 1/4 of the sons had fathers who had had four years or less of schooling, in 1970 only one son in nine had a father who had been so educated. Nevertheless, it seems from this table that there has been somewhat of an increase in the relationship between father's and son's education across these four cohorts. In 1940, the ratio of the percentage of high school dropouts whose fathers had completed 0-4 years of schooling to the percentage of all sons with fathers at this level of education was 1.43; in 1970 this ration had risen to 2.59. Thus, between these cohorts there has been an increase of almost 400% in the overrepresentation of these sons of poorly educated fathers among the high school dropout population. And although the corresponding ratio for sons whose fathers had had some colleg was very low (on the order of .25 in 1940), by 1970, it had declined slightly further. One could argue that the first ratio is deceptive since the sons of fathers who had had that little education in 1940 were not statistically aberrant, while those in 1970 were; and hence, the increase in their

overrepresentation was expected. The reverse argument should hold, however, for sons of those who had had some college; that, as college-going becomes more statistically normal, the probability of having a high school dropout son should increase and the ratio should get closer to one. Yet, the ratio slightly decreases between the 1940 and 1970 cohorts. Another way of dealing with this argument is to present the ratios for different percentiles of the population rather than for particular categories of father's education. If we compute these ratios for the (approximate) bottom quarter of father's education for 1940 and 1970, the high school dropout population goes from 38.9/27.2=1.43 in 1940 to 51.6/24.4 =2.11 in 1970. Looking at the top approximate 15% of the population in 1940 and 1970, we see that the ratio goes from 6.0/16.9=.355 in 1940 to 3.5/16.4=.213 in 1970, an increase in the extent to which this group was underrepresented of fourteen percentage points.[11] Thus, from these cross-sectional data, it appears that, though the percentage of an age group that does not graduate from high school has declined tremendously, the groups that have most benefitted from this increase in rates of high school graduation have been the top two-fifths of the population.

With respect to the percentage of an age cohort that completes some college, the situation has not been that different. As Table 13 makes clear, the percentage of the age cohort that completes some college has doubled between the 1940 and 1970 cohorts. This growth is evident at all levels of father's education, except, perhaps, among those whose fathers had completed some post-college education. In terms of the relationship between backround and the likelihood of attending college, hoeever we may note, with Featherman and Hauser, that "there is little evidence for any diminution of inequality of opportunity." (1978:25]) They also indicate that "enrollment in college and continuation toward the college diploma show little systematic variation across cohorts in their association with social backround. Where changes have occured they have tended to increase

the dependence of college attainment on social backround[11](1978:244-5).

We can see, from Tables 13, 14 and 15, precisely which groups, defined by father's education, have benefitted the most from the increase in college-going that has taken place between 1940 and 1970. Table 15, in particular, shows that, among those who were high school graduates, sons of college-educated fathers have greatly increased their rates of college attendance, while sons of poorly educated fathers have continued to go to college at approximately the same rates between 1940 and 1970. Data for the entire age cohort also show that increases in rates of college attainment have been greatest for those sons whose fathers have been in the top half of the distribution of education. A number of indicators from Tables 13 and 14 are sufficient to illustrate this point. First, if we compare the percentage point difference in the percentage of sons who attain some college among those whose fathers had had less than 8 years of schooling and those whose fathers had attained some college in Table 13, we see that the difference increases as we move from 1940 to 1970 (62.7-11.3=51.4 in 1940; 77.7-18.1=59.6 in 1970). Second, and in a similar vein, it is noteworthy in Table 13 that among sons whose fathers had had less than 8 years of schooling the increase between the 1940 and 1970 cohorts was less than 7 percentage points; among sons whose fathers had completed some college, however, the increase in the rate of college attainment was 15 percentage points. While Table 14 certainly indicates that the college-going population does not come from backrounds as elite as they once were, it does point to the fact that among the bottom 1/4 of the population, in terms of father's education, there has been no increase in the percentage that has attained some college between 1940 and 1970. All in all, it appears that even though access to college has reached more and more of the population, those for whom it would mean the most, those at the bottom of the class structure, have

not increased their college attainment.

More recent data on the backrounds of those who attended college full-time are available from the American Council on Education's National Norms for Freshmen, published annually since 1966. I have compiled, in Table 16, parental backround data from the entering classes of 1966, 1971 and 1977 and compared them to national data for these years. I have assumed, it should be noted, that fathers of freshmen are best compared with 45-54 year-old men and that mothers of freshmen are best compared with 45-54 year-old women.[12] It seems from these data that entering college had become somewhat less dependent on parental backround characteristics by the late 1970's than it had been in the mid-1960's. The (approximate) bottom 1/4 of the income distribution nationally, or those making less than $4000, comprised only 6.6% of the family incomes of college freshmen in 1966; by 1975, however, the (approximate) bottom quarter, or those making less than $8000, made up 16.2% of the college population. Since there is no reason to believe that students in 1975 misestimated their parents' income more than in 1966, we can assume that a greater proportion of the college population was coming from the bottom quarter of the income distribution more recently than had come before. With respect to parental education, it also appears that the backrounds of college freshmen have become less skewed toward the top of the educational distribution. For example, in 1966, 45% of entering freshmen had fathers who had completed some college, compared to the top 18.9% of all men aged 45-54. By 1977, 33.1% of entering freshmen had fathers in the top 17.4% of the educational distribution for all men; the degree of overrepresentation decreasing from over 3 times their percentage in the population to less than two times. When we look simply at categories of father's education rather than percentiles, we get a similar picture. The degree of overrepresentation of children of college graduate fathers declines between 1966 and 1977; the degree of

underrepresentation of children of non-high school graduate fathers declines; while children of high school graduate fathers became slightly more underrepresented. Since the relationship between attendance and mother's education seems very similar to these data on father's education, I shall not report on them separately. Thus, from these data on the parental background characteristics of entering freshmen between 1966 and 1977, it appears that the great increase in college attendance has reached those at the lower levels of the class structure more than they had been reached before.

In addition to the heroic assumptions I made above in deriving national baseline data, two additional caveats should be noted. First, it should be made clear that American Council on Education surveys, conducted in the fall, include all first-time full-time students and thus, to the extent that college attrition is greater among those from lower class backrounds, underestimate the extent of class effects on completion of some college. Compared to the Occupational Changes in a Generation survey conducted by the Census Bureau as a supplement to the Current Population Survey, or indeed Census attainment data, in general, the ACE data should show lower socioeconomic backrounds for full-time students in any given year, since its data are based on fall enrollment, while the March CPS data are based on completion of a year of schooling (though the October CPS on school enrollment is comparable to the ACE data, except that it includes backround data only on dependent family members among the college students). Second, since ACE surveys entering students at institutions, we cannot collapse these data into information about age cohorts. Thus, people who continue immediately into college from high school are included with full-time 35 year-old returnees in the ACE data. While it would certainly be possible to derive age-controlled information from the ACE data, it should simply be noted that, in moving

from the Census data to the ACE data, we are moving from demographic data to institutional data.

Moving back to demographic data, the Current Population Survey publishes a report on school enrollment, based on survey results from October of each year. Although social backround data are available only for those 18-24 year-olds who are dependent family members, we can still get some sense of trends in the relationship between social origins and college attendance. As we saw above in Table 12, data on family income indicate that that between 1960 and 1977 rates of increase by level of family income have been greatest among those with the lowest incomes. Tables 17 and 18 present data on family income of dependent family members who were college students, for the years 1967-1976. Table 17, alluded to above, documents the extent to which differemt income groups sent their children to college during this decade. Though the percentage of the 18-24 year-old age cohort attending college hovered around 40% for the entire decade, there was a ten percentage point decline in the percentage attending from the $15,000 and over income category. Other income categories showed very little change during the course of the decade. Thus, on the basis of this table, one might wish to argue that the "enrollment gap" between high and low income families was reduced during this period. Yet, from Table 18, it appears that there was a large rise in real income during this period and the seemingly large decline in enrollment from this income category is actually an artifact of the larger base from which the percentages were computed. If we compare the percentage of families with this income in the population in both 1967 and 1976, we see that these ratios, or percentage of overrepresentation, are about the same. It is likely, then, that due to this rise in real income, the occupational and educational backrounds of people in this same category were different in 1976 than they were in 1967, and that

theseparents did not send their children to college in quite the same proportions as their predecessors in this category had. Daughters from families in this income level, however, not only attended college in slightly smaller percentages in 1976 than in 1967, but there was a significant reduction in the extent to which they were overrepresented among the college population--from about 84% in 1967 to 43% in 1976. There may be a number of reasons why women from the top income category would experience a 2% decline in the percentage that enroll in higher education and a 50% decline in the extent to which they are overrepresented among the female college population when women overall were experienceing an 8.3 percentage point increase in the proportion of the age cohort that attends college. First, as with men, women were in families that experienced rises in their real incomes, and hence the backround characteristics of their parents were different than the parents of the daughters who were attending college a decade earlier. Perhaps, this rise in real income occured precisely among that segment of the population that was least affected by the women's movement, the blue-collar heavily unionized sector of the population. Since women's college attendance is more heavily dependent on socioeconomic backround (especially education and occupation) than is men's, one might argue that the presence of a large working class contingent in this high income category explains the decline. On the other hand, it is possible that the 1967 baseline for women's enrollment in this income category was artificially high and the trends since then have been have been relatively consistent with those for all women. Finally, it is possible that women are becoming more like men with respect to their patterns of college attendance, and this income category is more in line with the degree of overrepresentation present among men. Since the income category immediately below this one also declined in its degree of overrepresentation

it may very well be that the class effects on women's college attendance are now in line with those on men's. In terms of the relationship between family income and college attendance, we may tentatively conclude that, though large disparities still remain in the proportion of children from high and low income families attending college, there seems to have been, during the past two decades, a slight narrowing in the differentials in college access among these family income groups. It should be noted, however, that if categories above $15,000 were created, it is likely that there would have been an increase in the percentage attending college from the highest income categories, as might be inferred from Table 12 above.

Before drawing together these various data on attainment and enrollment, I think it would be useful to peruse Table 19 which presents data from selected surveys, conducted between 1944 and 1972, that attempt to chart the high school to college transition. Since most of these surveys collected their baseline data from high school seniors, and thus exclude the part of the age cohort that failed to reach the 12th grade, the percentages presented in the table underestimate the extent of class influence on college attendance. It is likely, in particular, that the percentages attending college from the lower socioeconomic groupings are inflated, since those included in the baseline are a rather selected group.

Although the 1944-1950 data in column #1 of Table 19 probably overestimates the percentage of an age cohort that attended college at that time (see data on school retention rates, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Satistics, 1975: 379), it is instructive to note the progression in the rates of the age or high school cohorts attending college. Despite tremendous differences in these samples (with respect to representativeness, response rates, etc.), a number of expected trends do appear. In addition to

the increase in the number of graduates or in an age cohort going on to college, we may note that those from the top of the socioeconomic ladder came to increase their likelihood of attending college. Estimates from before 1955 place the proportion of children from professional, executive, or upper class families going to college at somewhere between two out of three to three out of four. By the late 1960's or early 1970's, it appears that approximately 5 out of 6 children of professional, college graduate, or top quarter families were going to college. At the same time, those at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum were making advances as well. It seems that, between World War II and 1972, the percentage of high school seniors from blue-collar homes, from homes where the head had not finished high school, or from the bottom quarter of the population in terms of SES, rose from approximately one out of four or five to about one out of three. From these survey data, then, I would tentatively conclude, since the data are not readily comparable, that class differentials probably did not narrow between the War and the present. As with the CPS enrollment data, however, if we consider only the last two decades, this table suggests that there has been little increase in college attendance among the top groups, due presumably to considerable ceiling effects, and significant increase among those below, thus narrowing the differentials in college access between socioeconomic groups.

It is very difficult with only the data I have presented to estimate precisely the extent to which socioeconomic groups, measured along different dimensions, have changed, in their propensities to send their children to college, between 1940

and the present. Two trends seem clear from these data. First, it seems that when we use OCG data to estimate the relationship between father's and son's educational attainment, there seems to be little, if any, change between the cohort that was likely to have finished school around 1940 and the cohort that was likely was in the greater likelihood that sons of fathers with very little education will be more likely to be excluded from college. The OCG data suggest, then, the existence of, what we may call, an educational underclass, which seems to reproduce itself, to no small extent, from generation to generation. It should also be noted that the major changes in college attainment that have occurred have been in increasing the percentage of high school graduates from each origin level; rates of college attainment among high school graduates from particular levels of father's education have been remarkably stable over time, except among sons of fathers who had completed one year of college where, between 1940 and 1970, the proportion of high school graduates attaining some college increased from approximately 3/5 to 5/6 (See Table 15). Finally, from the OCG data it is clear that the percentage attaining at least some college from each origin level has increased between these cohorts, though it appears to have increased the most among sons whose fathers had had some college.

The second trend, evident in the ACE, CPS, and compiled survey data, is that between 1960 and the present, there seems to have been a diminution in the relationship between socioeconomic factors and college attendance. I should note before reporting on this trend, that these data differ from the OCG data in terms of what they are purporting to measure (enrollment vs. attainment) and in the timing of their collection (which would

VII. Social Class and Stratification Within HIgher Education

This hypothesis states that as more and more young people attend college, stratification within higher education increases over time. I would expect, based on this hypothesis, to find that, as the system of higher education expanded, the percentage of working class students attending upper-tier institutions declined while their representation at lower-tier institutions increased. The idea here is that while overall access to higher education has expanded, the selection processes, both self-selection and institutional selection, have continued to operate in directions that reinforce the contemporary structure of privilege resulting in an increase of relative inequality within the system of higher education. As more students from working class backgrounds enter the system, they are more likely nowadays then they had been in the past, since they are not as highly selected, (cf. Bourdieu) to enter lower-tier institutions and less likely to enter those in the upper-tier. For the working class, as opposed to both women and blacks who were politically mobilized, the structure of educational stratification now reflects a closer link between social origins and placement within higher education than it had in the past.

As with our previous hypothesis, it must be pointed out that the data available for testing this hypothesis are sparse and non-comparable. That the relationship between socioeconomic background and where one goes to college exists, however, has been documented in many studies that have been published since 1927. Reynolds (1927), in a study of the social backgrounds of students at 55 colleges and universities in 1925, found that private men's and women's colleges enrolled virtually no one from manual labor backgrounds and enrolled a larger percentage of students from professional and proprietor backgrounds than did private coeducational colleges and universities or state universities. Since that time, using a variety of measures of social origins and different categorizations

of institutions of higher education, social scientists have again and again found evidence of this relationship.[20] Except or the American Council on Education and the Current Population Survey, each of which has its own problems of internal comparability, however, the available data do not allow for easy analysis of trends. So, aside from noting the various studies that document this relationship, I shall not deal systematically with the pre-1965 period. It is, however, just around 1965 that this analysis is most relevant, since this is the period in which there was the greatest increase in diversity among the college population.

Between 1940 and 1960, a number of studies have shown that there is a quite strong relationship between social origins and where one goes to college. Roper (1949: 205), for instance, found that of the 1947 high school seniors who applied to colleges outside of their home state, (which, I assume, were more expensive and more selective/prestigious than colleges inside their home states; in fact, applications to within state schools were acted upon favorably more than 3/4 of the time) 61 percent of applicants from professional, executive, and white collar backgrounds were accepted compared to 48% of applicants from service trades, factory and other backgrounds and 44% of applicants whose fathers were small business proprietors. In the only other nationally representative study, done before 1960, Alexander and Eckland (1977) found that, among male college attenders who were high school sophomores in 1955, "high-status background, high ability, and attendance at socially select secondary school all enhance, if modestly, the likelihood of attending a relatively select college or university." (1977: 178) For females, they found an even stronger association with social origins, but almost no relationship to social status of secondary school.

Data from particular regions or comparisons of a small number of colleges yield supporting evidence for the pre-1960 period. R.C. White (1952), in a

study of the 1950 high school graduates in the Cleveland-Akron-Lorain area, found that 81 colleges were attended by the college-goers in his sample. The distribution of students attending the 13 local colleges included 38.5% from the lower class (upper lower and lower lower) and 31.3% from the upper and upper middle classes; at the same time, the distribution of these graduates at the "14 best known private"institutions included 2.8% from the lower class and 94.4% from the upper and upper middle classes. Two University of Chicago School of Education doctoral dissertations (Burck 1951; Mook, 1949) showed that the social status distribution of students at a 4-year Midwestern college was higher than that at a nearby 2year college, with more than twice as many lower class (upper lower and lower lower) students represented at the junior college than at the 4-year school.[21] Burton Clark's comparison of the occupational backgrounds of 1955 freshmen students from San Jose, California at four colleges, showed large differences between the local junior college, the local state college, the state university, and Stanford. While the distribution of occupational backgrounds of the junior college students resembled the occupational distribution of the San Jose work force, the Stanford students hailed from professional or business owner families almost 90% of the time, a rate more than 3 1/3 times this category's representation in the population (Clark, 1962:68).[22] In a study of June 1959 high school graduates in 16 communities located in Pennsylvania, the Midwest, and California, it was found (Medsker and Trent, 1972; Trent and Medsker, 1968), in October 1959, that 49% of those who attended private university came from professional or mangerial families, while, among those who attended public two-year colleges, only 16% came from this stratum. At the lower end of the occupational spectrum, it appears that only 1 in 25 of those graduates who attended private universities came from semi- or unskilled backgrounds, while

more than 1 in 5 public two-year college attenders came from this occupational category. Similar differences between these institutions are evident when we look at the distribution of father's education (cf. Medsker and Trent, 1972:47).

Using these Medsker-Trent data as a baseline, I have compiled, in Table 27 the college attendance patterns among students whose fathers had had some college for selected years, between 1959 and 1980. These data, although not strictly comparable,[23] suggest, at the very least, that there has not been a diminution in the relationship between father's education and where one goes to college. Looking at two-year college attendance, we see that between 1959 and 1980 there is a very slight increase in the percentage of students whose fathers had attended college, perhaps from 32% (an estimate of the average of public and private in 1959) to approximately 36%. At the same time, there was a tremendous increase in the educational attainments of the fathers, approximately from 12.5% having attended college to almost 30%. Comparing, then, the percentages attending two-year colleges from these educational backgrounds to the distribution of education in the population, we find that, in the last two decades, the community college has become much more likely to have first-generation collegians in its student body relative to the distribution of first generation collegians in the population, and less likely to have students whose fathers had had some college.[24] If we look at the colleges that seem to attract the greatest percentage of second generation collegians, the private universities,[25] we see that, between 1959 and 1980, the percentage of students whose fathers had attended college increases. From these data, it would appear that this increase was not quite as great as the increase in educational backgrounds, thus implying that it was easier for first-generation collegians to gain access to these colleges now than it had been in the past.

At the same time, however, it should be pointed out that (a) the increase in the percentage of second-generation collegians attending private universities was much greater than that at two-year colleges; (b) the percentage point difference between the percentage in the population with some college and the percentage of private university student's fathers with some college is very similar across years; and (c) the ratio of the percentage of second-generation collegians at private universities to the percentage at two-year colleges increased between 1959 and 1980. Thus, despite, what appears to be, a certain levelling in the opportunities for access to higher education, as reported above, there has been an increase in the likelihood that people from more modest social backgrounds will attend two-year colleges and an increase in the likelihood that sons from higher social origins will attend private universities rather than two-year colleges.

To provide a better picture as to the extent of change in where people have gone to college between 1966 and 1977, I have compiled for freshmen, both from families where that father had not graduated high school and from families where the father had at least graduated college, the percentage attending different kinds of institutions in 1966, 1971, and 1977. Table 28 shows that between 1966 and 1977 there was very little change in the way students with poorly educated fathers and students with highly educated fathers distributed themselves among institutions of higher education, relative to changes in the distribution of educational attainment among 45-54 year old males. As I cautioned above with respect to ACE National Norms for Freshmen, one must be very wary about inferring trends from these yearly reports. Nevertheless, it appears that, relative to the percentage of non-high school graduates among 45-54 year-old males in the population, there was a decline between 1966 and 1977 in the percentage of incoming students

with poorly educated fathers attending universities, with an especially large drop in the public sector. (Among college graduates' children, however, there was a greater absolute increase at public than at private universities). In addition, although the degree of overrepresentation of children of college graduates among incoming students declined at all institutions between 1966 and 1977 (relative to the percentage of college graduates among 45-54 year-old males in the population), it should be pointed out that this decline was least evident at universities and most evident at two-year colleges. Thus, these two indicators point to an increase of stratification within the system of higher education.

It seems also from Table that it we look at public two-year and four-year colleges, institutions in which incoming students whose fathers did not graduate high school are best represented, we see that between 1966 and 1977, there has been a small increase in the degree of representation (relative to 45-54 year-old males) at two-year colleges and a decrease at four-year colleges. This suggests that as more students from poorer educational backgrounds enter college they become more likely to enter two-year rather than four-year colleges, even in the comparatively less selective public sector.[26] For children of college graduates, on the other hand, between 1966 and 1977, entry into public two-year colleges has become less likely and entry into public four-year colleges has become more likely. At the same time, it should be pointed out that relative to their representation in the population, children of college graduates increased their proportions in public two-year colleges between 1966 and 1977.[27] Thus, these data do not point unambiguously to the conclusion that stratification within the system of higher education has increased. They do suggest quite strongly, however, that there has not

been much progress made in loosening the links between one's social origins and where one goes to college.

The only other data that bear on this hypothesis are those from Current Population Reports (selected years) that differentiate among two-year and four-year college attenders for dependent family members. While in principle one could construct a comparable time-series with these data, it seems that this would only be possible for selected years since 1970. Further, since backround data are collected only for "dependent family members" and there have been large increases in the percentage of "independent" students since 1970, the data are less reliable and comparable than is evident at first glance. In any event, when one compares that distribution of 14-34 year-old college students in two-year colleges and in the first two years of four-year college in 1970 and 1978, one finds an increase in community college attendance from 41.9 to 48.4% among students from homes where the family head was at least a college graduate the percentage in community colleges increased from 25.9% to 29.5%. Thus, in this short-term comparison of extremes in educational backrounds, it appears again that those from lower social origins increased their representation at two-year as opposed to four-year colleges more than did those from higher social origins.

On the basis of the data that I have reported, what may we conclude about changes over time in the relationship between one's social origin and where one attends college? First, it is unclear how much change, if any, has occurred. We know that there has been a large increase in the percentage of college students who attend community colleges. This does not necessarily imply, however, that this increase has disproportionately been located among students from particular backgrounds, although we do have data that suggests that this is the case. It would in principle be

possible for a vast expansion to take place in the lower-tier of the system with each social group maintaining its relative representation within it. It appears from the data that something not too far from this occurred, but that there was change.

Second, as we saw in the section above on class and access, there has been, in the last twenty years, a greater increase in attendance among those from lower social origins than among those from higher social origins (due to ceiling effects, as mentioned above). So at the same time that more working and lower middle class students have gained access to the system of higher education, the expansion of its lower tier has been quite large. The coincidence of these trends has had the effect of increasing the likelihood that students from lower social origins will attend community colleges and will not attend universities (cf. Karabel, 1972). In fact, it has recently been reported (Anderson, Bowman, & Tinto, 1972) that the availability of a nearly community college increases the likelihood that a student will enroll there rather than in a four-year college. Those from higher social origins, on the other hand, have, on the whole, been quite able to resist the general stampede into the lower-tier of the system. Suter (1976) reports Current Population Survey data that show that, in 1975, when one out of four of 18-24 year-old men enrolled in college were in two-year colleges, the proportion for those whose fathers were college graduates was only one in seven, while the proportion for those whose fathers had not graduated high school was more than one in three. Nevertheless, it is true that there has been an increase in attendance at two-year colleges among those from higher social origins. At the same time, it should be noted that at "very selective" (SAT's over 1150) private universities, the proportion of men and women whose fathers were at least college graduates was about three out of four. (ACE, 1980).

Overall, then, the changes in stratification within higher education that have occurred seem to be caused by changes in the structure of higher education itself. The students from previously poorly represented social groups that have gained access have generally gained access to the new colleges, which have generally been community colleges. Although I do not (at present) have any data on what percentage of working class students are in the Ivy League or in "prestigious colleges" as I presented above for women and blacks, it is likely that the percentage of working class college students enrolled at these elite institutions has declined relative to their representation in the lower tier during the past twenty years. Further, it appears that without political mobilization it is unlikely that there will be any improvement in where subordinate social groups will go to college. In order for the changes that occur to have other than structural effects, there must be other than structural causes.

VIII. Financial Factors and College Attendance

Sociologists and economists have both addressed the question of the extent to which financial factors affect college attendance. The sociological literature attempts to investigate whether income, used either as a measure of social origins or in combination with other background factors, is related to whether and/or where people go to college. The economists usually attempt to adduce for different income groups the demand for higher education under varying price conditions. Although each discipline addresses a different set of questions, it is possible to draw on both of them to help us determine whether, even if financial factors do not affect whether people go to college, it does affect where they go. With almost fifty percent of young people now attending college, we would expect income, used in either manner, to differentiate where people attended college rather than whether they would go at all.

As shown above, it is the case that family income affects whether and where people go to college. Used as a measure of social background, family income is highly related to whether people go to college (cf. Table 12). In terms of where people go to college, Table 29 shows, for public and private universities, four-year colleges, and two-year colleges, the percentage distribution of freshmen by parents' income class for 1966, 1970, and 1975. As I argued above with respect to the relationship between father's education and were people go to college, it seems, in general, that between 1966 and 1975 there has been an increase in the representation of students from poorer families in two-year colleges and a decrease in their representation at universities, while the opposite has been the case among those whose

parents earned at least twice the median income. Thus, in line with others who have used family income as a measure of social background (e.g., Sexton, 1961; Hansen, 1970), it appears that family income is strongly related to whether and where people go to college.[29]

When the specifically financial aspect of family income is considered, that is, when one evaluates the effects of family income on college attendance once other factors are controlled, the issue becomes more complicated. A proper analysis, which to my knowledge has never been carried out, would deal with such factors as the difference between the ability to pay and the willingness to pay, the availability of loans and other sources of external financing, the pricing of different types of postsecondary education, the relative valuation by parents of a college education compared to other goods, in addition to the usual variables (father's occupation, mother's education, educational and occupational expectations, etc.) that are considered. Economists have generally tried to deal with many of the former variables, while sociologists have normally dealt with the latter. I shall, to the extent possible, summarize what is known about all of these factors in order to estimate the extent to which financial factors affect whether and where people go to college.

Perhaps the most systematic discussion of this questions was that of Jencks and Reisman in The Academic Revolution (1968). They concluded that "if a student is reasonably talented and wholly committed he can get through college no matter how little money his parents have." (118-119) By "reasonably talented and wholly committed" Jencks and Reisman probably mean a student who is above some minimum of academic ability and whose educational expectations are very high. For a person such as this, family income does

not matter very much in determining whether or not the person goes to college. Jencks and Riesman go on to say, however, that "(M)oney, in short, is seldom an insuperable problem when taken in isolation, but it may be decisive for the student who is ambivalent anyway." (119) Thus, it appears that when family income is used alone to explain college-going behavior, we find that it is highly correlated with attendance; when other factors, such as academic ability or educational expectations which are highly correlated with other background variables such as father's occupation and mother's education (cf. Alexander, Eckland, and Griffin, 1975; Sewell and Hauser, 1976), are considered along with family income, however, we find that family income is not terribly important in determining whether people go to college. (cf. Leslie, et al., 1977)

Economists, who have used family income as a measure of social background, have generally focussed on the question of under what price conditions will different people invest in higher education. One very common finding is that low-income families respond more to price changes than people from high-income families (Jackson and Weathersby, 1975; Cohn and Morgan, 1978;[30] McPherson, 1978), implying that the financing of higher education is more of a question for low rather than high-income families.[31] Bishop (1977) found that the availability of a local, open admissions college had significant positive effects on enrollments, particularly for low-income middle-ability students. This finding corroborates that of Sandell (1976) and Anderson, Bowman, and Tinto (1972) who found that the availability of a local college had greater effects for low-income blacks. Kohn, Manski, and Mundel;s (1976) finding that the cost of room and board influences students

from lower-income backgrounds more than students from high-income backgrounds certainly confirms this finding as well. The latter study, it should be pointed out, also found that the higher the family income, the less significant are the effects of parents' education or college attendance.

In terms of where people go to college, less research has been done, but it is also here that I have hypothesized the greatest effect of family income. It is possible to infer from the findings of Sandell (1976), Anderson, Bowman, and Tinto (1972), and Kohn, Manski, and Mundel (1976) reported above that family income has more of an influence on where a student attends college than on whether he or she attends. Further, it has been found (McPherson, 1978) that while low-income students are particularly price-sensitive in deciding whether to go to college, it seems that all students are at least somewhat sensitive to price in deciding where to go to college.

McPherson's assertion is borne out in research conducted by Richard R. Spies. Spies (1978), in a study of those who scored in the top 18 percent on the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test/Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test administered in the spring of 1975 (students would be entering college for the first time in fall, 1976), found that applications to schools that cost at least $6,000 and required a combined SAT score of 1300 were much more responsive to differences in family income than were applications to state universities. Further, the probability of applying only to public colleges is about .4 for students whose family income is less than $40,000, while among those whose family income is greater than $40,000, the probability of applying only to public institutions descends to less than .25. Thus, in this high ability group, we see that there is a direct relationship between

family income and the probability of applying to a prestigious, selective college and between family income and applying only to colleges in the generally less selective public sector.

With respect to the effects of income on where people go to college, then, it is possible to infer from these various findings that, controlling for other factors, students from low-income families are more likely than any other group to attend two-year, unselective colleges. To the extent that low-income families are particularly sensitive to the costs of meals and housing; to the extent that they are more likely to attend a local college when one is available; and to the extent that two-year colleges are primarily non-residential schools and, hence, local, we may assume that income does affect where people go to college, with lower-income students attending two-year colleges, or colleges of lower selectivity, than students from higher income families.

While not conclusive, the data that I have presented that bear on this hypothesis certainly suggest that it should be accepted. It appears that, controlling for other factors, family income does affect where people go to college. This effect appears to show up most for those at the low-income levels and with respect to applications to the most elite institutions. It may be that in a stratification system such as that of the United States, where immobility across generations is greatest at the top and bottom of the occupational structure (cf. Featherman and Hauser, 1978), where one goes to college is most important for those in the middle. Those who are at the bottom and those who are at the top of the income distribution go to college to maintain their relative position in the social structure and perhaps the

two-year colleges and the elite colleges are the institutions that ensure this. For those in the middle, however, for whom the prospect of movement is greatest (cf. Featherman and Hauser, 1978), it may be that where one goes to college is perceived to be so important that families perform financial acrobatics to have their sons and daughters go to the best college, thus negating any strong effects of family income on where one goes to college at this income level.[32] It must be remembered, however, that even for this middle income group there are significant barriers to even applying to elite institutions.

IX. Summary and Conclusions

In this paper, I have attempted to come to terms with how the distribution of the social origins of college students has changed in the context of the vast expansion of the system of higher education between 1940 and the present. My starting point was a particular conception of the stratification system of the United States and a particular conception of the role of higher education within it. The stratification system in the United States is characterized by a significant amount of intergenerational occupational mobility, much of it "explained" by educational attainment, but also a large amount of transfer of inequality from generation to generation (cf. e.g., Jencks, et. al., 1979). In addition, it should be pointed out, mobility rates have not increased during the course of this century (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Featherman and Hauser, 1978). The occupational structure itself has changed, however, with a great increase in the proportion of the labor force that is engaged in professional-technical occupations. The higher educational system, which, historically, has provided the training for this sector of the labor force, has expanded, however, at an even faster rate. Spurred by various government policies, by demands for more highly trained personnel by employers, and by the opening of more and cheaper institutions, young people increased their rates of enrollment from a little more than one out of seven 18-21 year-olds attending in 1945 to almost one out of every two young persons in 1975. If colleges were to continue to perform the same function as they had in the past, that of selecting people into the professional-technical sector of the labor force, distinctions would have to be made among potential employees, not only in terms of whether they attended college, but in terms of where they did so (cf. Clark, 1962; Trow, 1962; Karabel, 1972).

The hypotheses that I have presented and, data permitting, also tested,

It should be noted, however, that much of the extra space that has been created in institutions of higher education since World War II has been filled by the children of those who themselves were relatively advantaged in their educational attainments.

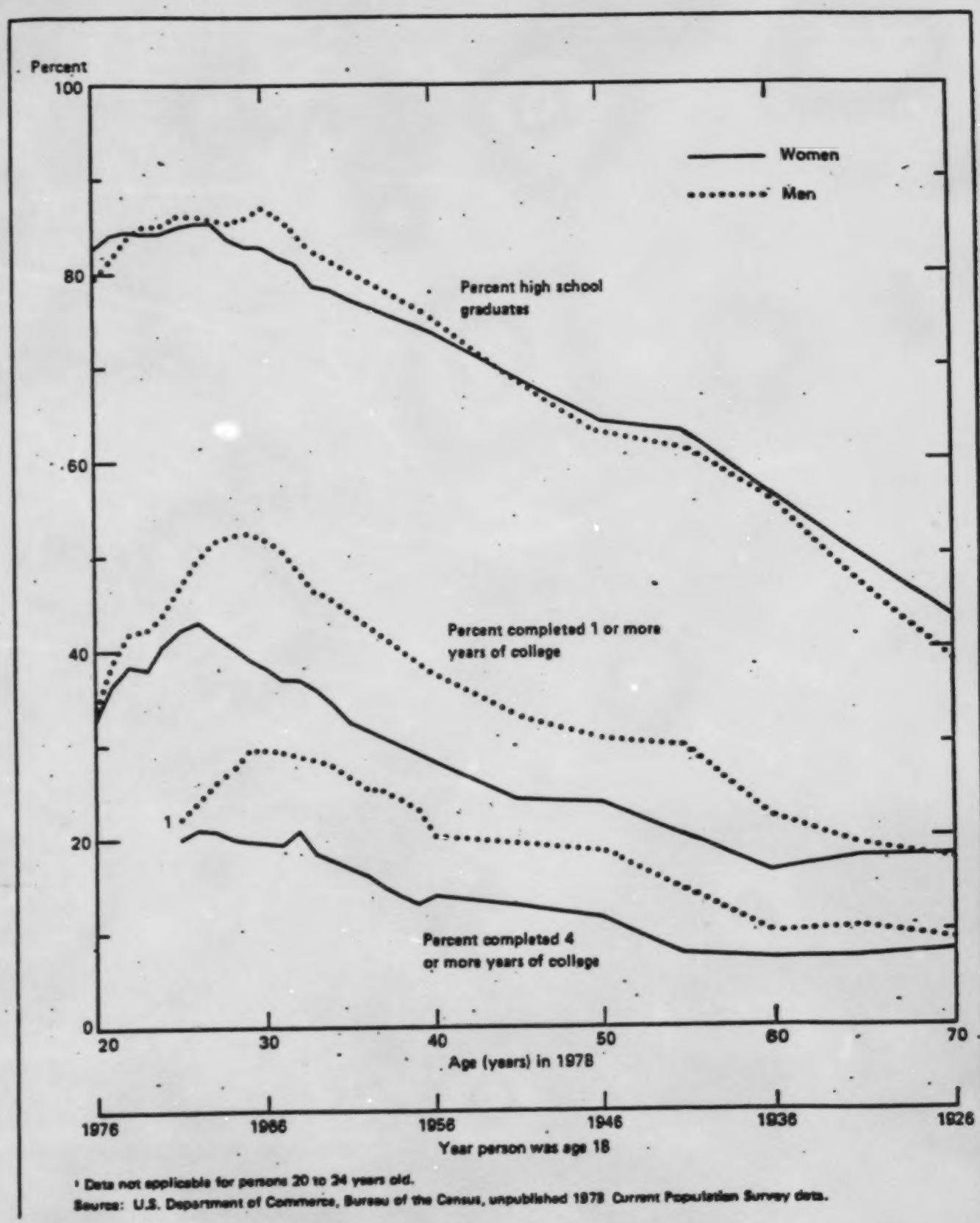
In terms of where people go to college, I have hypothesized that, due to their political mobilization and subsequent recognition as a legitimate pressure group, blacks and women have been able to make greater inroads into the better institutions of higher education than they had previously. Without significant political mobilization, I have hypothesized that the distribution of those from lower social origins will have become more skewed toward the lower end of the higher educational hierarchy. Although my analysis of these hypotheses (pp. 33-50 above) is not entirely conclusive,[34] it does appear that changes of stratification within the system of higher education occurred in the hypothesized direction.[35]

*****

The vast expansion of the system of higher education since World War II has resulted in greater (though disproportionate) access to higher education for all groups. During the same period, however, stratification <u>within</u> the system of higher education has become increasingly important. The expansion that has occurred and the inclusion of previously excluded groups has not affected very much the distribution of people among institutions. Just as when new immigrant groups arrived in the United States they disproportionately filled the bottom positions in the occupational structure, so have new entrants into the system of higher education filled the places in the two-year colleges. It appears, however, that this structural factor, the expansion of the two-year colleges, has had its greatest effect with respect to those who were

least mobilized. For women and for blacks, who were able to gain legitimacy for themselves as groups, the structural impact of this expansion was less visible; they seemed to have been able to change their relative position in the stratification system of higher education in a way that those from lower social origins were not. Thus, while the overall expansion of higher education has insured a greater representation for all groups, only political mobilization and recognition as a legitimate pressure group can change one's relative position in the structure of social inequality.

FIGURE 1.
Percent of Persons 20 to 70 Years Old, by Years of School Completed and Sex: 1978



1 Data not applicable for persons 20 to 24 years old.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, unpublished 1978 Current Population Survey data.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 100, "A Statistical Portrait of Women in the United States: 1978," Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1980.

TABLE 1

Percent of Age Group Completing At Least 4 Years of High School, by Color: Selected Years, 1940-1977.

	1940		1947		1960		1966		1977		
GE	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Black	Spanish Origin
otal, 14 yrs. + over	26.8	8.0	34.5	13.6	---	---	49.9	28.9	---	---	---
4-17	3.7	1.5	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.0	1.0	1.3	---	---	---
otal, 18 yrs. + over	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	69.2	50.0	43.4
8-19	40.9	11.7	45.2	23.9	54.7	28.9	63.2	37.2	64.7	43.9	41.6
0-24	47.6	14.8	56.6	20.7	66.5	40.6	78.0	54.1	85.1	75.3	61.5
otal, 25 yrs. + over	25.8	7.6	34.5	13.2	46.0	20.0	52.2	29.5	---	---	---
5-29	40.9	12.1	54.5	21.9	63.3	36.1	73.8	50.4	86.8	74.5	58.1
0	35.3	9.8	48.4	19.8	58.6	30.0	70.3	45.1	82.6	67.2	49.0
5-39	27.1	7.2	39.1	13.0	55.4	23.8	63.5	35.6	76.8	59.8	44.4
0-44									74.6	51.2	37.8
5-49	20.6	6.0	27.1	9.5	42.3	14.3	52.7	24.3	69.3	34.6	37.8
0-54									65.7	36.6	26.8
5-59	17.4	4.8	22.0	6.8	30.7	9.4	39.2	14.7	62.3	31.2	24.1
0-64									55.7	20.3	20.6
5-69	13.6	2.6	17.5	5.0	24.4	7.0	26.6	8.6	47.8	16.0	19.7
0-74									40.4	43.5	10.8
5+					21.6	5.6			31.0	14.1	16.2

Sources: 1940 and 1947 data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20 No. 15, "Educational Attainment of the Civilian Population: April 1947," Washington, DC: USGPO, 1948, Table 1.

1960 data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of the Population 1960, Special Reports, Education, P-E, No. 5B, Compiled from Table 1.

1966 data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 158 "Educational Attainment: March 1966 and 1965," Washington, DC: USGPO, 1966, Table 1.

1977 data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 314 "Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1977 and 1976," Washington, DC: USGPO, 1977, Table 2.

TABLE 2

Percent of High School Graduates 20 and 21 Years Old Who Completed One Year of College or More, by Race and Sex: 1940 to 1977

Year	All Races		White		Black	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1977[1]	49.5		47.3		41.7	
1974	49.5	45.7	50.6	46.1	36.9	42.8
1972	52.7	42.4	53.9	42.8	40.9	38.2
1971	56.2	46.4	57.6	47.1	41.0	37.5
1970	58.7	44.3	60.6	45.3	40.2	32.4
1969	57.6	41.5	58.7	42.0	42.3	33.7
1968	58.8	43.8	60.5	44.5	40.1	34.6
1960	41.8	33.6	42.9	34.1	[2]28.1	[2]28.9
1950	37.1	29.8	37.4	29.8	28.0	29.9
1940	30.3	24.4	30.3	24.3	26.9	26.6

Notes: 1. 1977 data are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1977, Table 2.

2. Figures for 1960 are for Negro and other races.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 274, "Educational Attainment: October 1973 and October 1974," Washington, DC: USGPO, .

TABLE 3

Percent of 25-29 Year-Olds With at Least Some College, by Race*: Selected Tears, 1940-1977.

*Color, Race or Ethnicity

Year	White	Nonwhite	Black	Indian	Hispanic	Other
1940	14.1	4.3	---	---	---	---
1950	18.8	7.7	7.1	5.1	4.3[1]	25.8
1960	24.0	11.3	---	---	---	40.1[2]
1966	27.8	14.9	12.0	---	---	43.3[3]
1970[4]	33.3	---	15.8	15.8	---	40.6
1977	47.1	---	31.1	---	23.9	---

Sources: 1940 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1948
1950 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1950
1960 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1960
1966 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1966
1970 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970
1977 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1977

Notes

1. This percentage is for "White persons with Spanish surname in 5 Southwestern states."
2. This figure is for "foreign stock by area of origin - other." I assume that most people so categorized are Asian.
3. This figure is derived from the arithmetic difference between "nonwhite" and "negro."
4. These figures are for natives of native parentage. 11.5% of the population 25-29 are thus omittee from this analysis.

TABLE 4. Summary of Black Collegiate Enrollment Data, 1940-1980.

		1940	1950	1960	1964	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Percent of Freshmen who are Black[1]						4.3	5.8	6.0	9.1	6.3	8.7	7.8	7.4	9.0	8.4	8.8	8.1	9.2	9.2
Percent of College Population that is Black																			
Office of Civil Rights[2]:	#						535		585		773		921						
	%						7.1		6.8		8.4		9.0						
Office of Civil Rights[3]:	#										495		540		659				
	%										8		9		10				
Current Population Report[4]:	#					370	434	492	522	680	727	684	814	948	1062	1103			
	%					5.8	6.4	6.6	7.0	8.4	8.7	8.4	9.2	9.8	10.7	10.8			
Gordon (1976)[5]:	%	2.0	3.0	4.3	5.0	5.8		6.6	7.0	8.4	8.7								
Total Black Collegiate Enrollment, Estimates:	#	45-50	95-105	195-205					470										

Notes:
1. American Council on Education, National Norms For Entering College Freshmen, Fall 1966 through Fall 1980
2. Number of Undergraduates (000's). Data from Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data From Institutions of Higher Education, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974. As reported in Brown & Stent (1977: 29).
3. Total Full-time enrollments (000's). Data from Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data From Institutions of Higher Education, 1972, 1974. And from National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey, 1976 Fall Enrollment & Compliance Report, prepublication data. As reported in A Fact Book on Higher Education (ACE, 1977: 92-95).
4. Total (000's). Series P-20, No. 321. Includes 14-34 year-olds.
5. Estimates of Total Enrollment (000's). 1940 and 1950 estimates are from Chronicle of Higher Education (Nov. 29, 1971).
6. Estimates (000's). Crossland (1971:29).

ABLE 5. High School Graduation Rate, by Sex: Selected Years 1949-50 to 1976-77

School Year	Population Aged 17 and 18 (000's)[1]			High School Graduates (000's)			Graduates as a Percent of the Population aged 17 and 18[1]		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1949-50	2115	1066	1049	1200	571	629	56.7	53.6	60.0
1953-54	2150	1080	1070	1279	615	664	59.5	56.9	62.1
1957-58	2398	1210	1188	1513	729	784	63.1	60.2	66.0
1961-62	2771	1402	1369	1925	941	984	69.5	67.1	71.9
1965-66	3515	1784	1731	2632	1308	1325	74.9	73.3	76.5
1969-70	3831	1946	1885	2896	1433	1463	75.6	73.6	77.6
1972-73	4072	2067	2005	3037	1501	1536	74.6	72.6	76.6
1973-74	4166	2116	2050	3069	1512	1557	73.7	71.5	76.0
75-76	4215[2]	----	----	3154	1554	6600	74.8[3]	----	----
1976-77[4]	4206[2]	----	----	3154	1548	1606	75.0[3]	----	----

Notes: 1. Estimated
2. Population 17 years old
3. Number graduated per 100 persons 17 years of age.
4. Preliminary data

Sources: Data from 1949-50 to 1973-74 are from The Condition of Education: 1976, Table 2.2 (Golladay, 1976: 194). Data from 1975-76 are from Digest of Education Statistics: 1979, Table 60 (Grant and Lind, 1979: 63).

Table 6. Enrollment Status and Progress Through School of Children 14 to 17 Years Old, by Single Years of Age by Sex: 1950 to 1976

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Age and enrollment status	Male				Female			
	1976 SIE	1970[1] census	1960[2] census	1950[3] census	1976 SIE	1970[1] census	1960[2] census	1950[3] census
14 years	2,143	2,085	1,403	1,090	2,025	2,010	1,345	1,047
Percent enrolled	98.5	96.3	95.4	94.7	98.7	96.0	95.3	94.9
Percent of enrolled below mode	10.4	12.5	17.1	29.7	6.6	7.7	10.6	20.1
15 years	2,128	2,054	1,435	1,079	2,074	1,975	1,367	1,051
Percent enrolled	98.4	95.7	93.1	91.5	97.6	95.3	92.7	91.2
Percent of enrolled below mode	11.3	13.3	18.7	31.4	7.8	7.9	11.7	21.2
16 years	2,097	1,980	1,450	1,054	2,034	1,910	1,389	1,026
Percent enrolled	95.6	92.3	86.6	80.6	96.2	91.8	86.1	81.1
Percent of enrolled below mode	13.1	13.4	18.6	29.4	8.8	8.0	11.6	19.7
17 years	2,049	1,945	1,457	1,055	1,861	1,880	1,415	1,038
Percent enrolled	90.2	86.8	76.3	67.9	91.6	85.8	74.9	68.4
Percent of enrolled below mode	13.3	13.6	18.1	26.4	9.0	8.2	11.6	17.6

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 337, "Relative Progress of Children in School: 1976," Washington, D. C.: USGPO, 1979.

TABLE 7. Educational Attainment of Persons 25-29 Years Old, by Sex: Selected Years, 1940 to 1978.

Sex and Educational Level	1940	1947	1960	1966	1970	1975	1978
Male							
% completing at least 4 yrs. of high school	35.6%	48.9%	59.6%	70.9%	76.6%	84.5%	86.0%
% attaining at least some college	13.5%	15.9%	27.4%	30.1%	36.2%	47.3%	51.0%
Female							
% completing at least 4 yrs. of high school	39.9%	53.1%	61.5%	71.1%	74.2%	81.7%	84.5%
% attaining at least some college	12.6%	13.7%	18.9%	22.7%	26.6%	36.0%	41.9%

Sources:
- 1940 and 1947: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 15, "Educational Attainment of the Civilian Population: April, 1947," Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1948.
- 1960: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population: 1960, Educational Attainment.
- 1966: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 158, "Educational Attainment: March 1966 and 1965," Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1966.
- 1970, 1975, 1978: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 100, "A Statistical Portrait of Women in the U.S.: 1978," Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1980.

TABLE 8. Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education, Percentages by Sex: Selected Years, 1946 to 1978.

Type of Enrollment, Attendance Status	1946[1]		1950		1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1977	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Degree-Credit: %	68.2	31.8	68.4	31.6	65.3	34.7	63.0	37.0	61.1	38.9	58.5	41.5	54.7	45.3	51.3	48.7
Women per 100 Men	46.6		46.2		53.1		58.7		63.8		70.8		82.9		94.9	
Total Enrollment: %									61.3	38.7	58.8	41.2	55.0	45.0	51.3	48.8
Women per 100 Men									63.1		70.1		81.9		95.0	
First-Time Degree Credit:%	71.7	28.3	61.9	38.1	62.1	37.9	58.4	41.6	57.5	42.5	55.3	44.7	51.9	48.1		
Women per 100 Men	39.4		61.6		61.1		71.1		73.9		80.9		92.6			

NOTES: 1. Estimated

SOURCES: Degree-Credit Enrollment: Table 83 in Grant and Lind (1979:90)
Total Enrollment: Table 81 in Grant and Lind (1979:89)
First-Time Degree-Credit Enrollment: Table 86 in Grant and Lind (1979: 93).

TABLE 9. College Students, 14 to 34 Years Old, by Sex: Selected Years, 1947 to 1978.

Year	Male		Female		Females per 100 Males
	# in college (000's)	% of college population	# in college (000's)	% of college population	
1947	1687	73.0	624	27.0	37.0
1950	1474	67.8	701	32.2	47.6
1955	1579	66.4	800	33.6	50.7
1960	2339	65.5	1231	34.5	52.6
1965	3503	61.7	2172	38.3	62.0
1967	3841	60.0	2560	40.0	66.6
1968	4124	60.6	2677	39.4	64.9
1969	4448	59.8	2987	40.2	67.2
1970	4401	59.4	3013	40.6	68.5
1971	4850	60.0	3236	40.0	66.7
1972	4853	58.4	3459	41.6	71.3
1973	4677	57.2	3502	42.8	74.9
1974	4926	55.8	3901	44.2	79.2
1975	5342	55.1	4355	44.9	81.5
1976	5296	53.2	4654	46.8	87.9
1977	5369	52.5	4848	47.5	90.3
1978	5124	52.1	4714	47.9	92.0

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 346, "School Enrollment - Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October, 1978," Washington, D.C.:USGPO, 1979, Table A-2, p. 67. Data for 1967, 1968, and 1969 are from Table 4, p. 5 in U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 321, "School Enrollment Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1977 (Advance Report)," Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1978.

Table 10. Enrollment in College, by Sex and Age: 1978 and 1970

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Sex and age	1978			1970		
	Total persons	Number enrolled	Percent enrolled	Total persons	Number enrolled	Percent enrolled
Men, 18 to 34 years	29,548	5,017	17.0	22,225	4,271	19.2
18 and 19 years	3,975	1,391	35.0	3,349	1,346	40.2
20 and 21 years	3,911	1,202	30.7	2,651	1,083	40.9
22 to 24 years	5,499	1,028	18.7	4,385	902	20.6
25 to 29 years	8,539	922	10.8	6,467	684	10.6
30 to 34 years	7,624	474	6.2	5,373	256	4.8
Women, 18 to 34 years	31,379	4,546	14.5	24,930	2,883	11.6
18 and 19 years	4,178	1,507	36.1	3,609	1,248	34.6
20 and 21 years	4,181	1,096	26.2	3,467	774	22.3
22 to 24 years	5,903	770	13.0	5,091	452	8.9
25 to 29 years	9,050	697	7.7	6,948	255	3.7
30 to 34 years	8,067	476	5.9	5,815	154	2.6
18 and 19-year-old high school graduates:						
Men	2,772	1,391	50.2	2,337	1,346	57.6
Women	3,218	1,507	46.8	2,767	1,248	45.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "School Enrollment - Social & Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1978," Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1979, Table B, p.3.

Table 11 Full-Time and Part-Time Enrollment of Freshmen and Sophomores 18 to 34 Years Old, by Type of College and Sex: 1978 and 1970

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Type of college and enrollment status	Men			Women		
	1978	1970	Percent change, 1970-78	1978	1970	Percent change, 1970-78
2-year colleges:						
Total enrolled	1,197	961	24.6	1,190	654	82.0
Full time	665	689	-3.5	620	420	47.6
Part time	532	272	95.6	570	234	143.6
1st and 2d year of 4-year colleges:						
Total enrolled	1,232	1,122	9.8	1,209	947	27.7
Full time	1,086	1,005	8.1	1,041	833	25.0
Part time	146	117	24.8	168	114	47.4

Note: 2-year college enrollment figures include some students in the 3d academic year.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 346, "School Enrollment - Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1978," Washington, DC: USGPO, 1979, Table F, p. 5.

Table 12. Percent of Persons of College Age Who Were Attending or Had Completed Some College by Family Income: 1960 and 1977

Income (1977 dollars)	1960	1977	
	16 to 24 years old	18 to 24 years old	Difference
Total	35	38	+3
Less than $10,000	22	28	+6
$10,000 to $14,999	39	42	+3
$15,000 to $19,999	52	48	−4
$20,000 and over	62	66	+4

Source: *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 110, and unpublished data.

Source: Suter (1980:22)

TABLE 13. Reports of Son's Educational Attainment by Father's Educational Attainment for Sons Who Were Aged 22-31 in:

Father's Education—Yrs. of School Completed:	1940				1950				1960				1970			
	<HSG	HSG	SOME COLL.	N	<HSG	HSG	SOME COLL.	N	<HSG	HSG	SOME COLL.	N	<HSG	HSG	SOME COLL.	N
0-4	73.0	17.9	9.1	2177	62.3	25.2	12.4	2350	55.1	28.8	16.2	1692	51.3	33.6	15.0	1394
5-7	58.1	28.0	13.8	1879	47.0	35.2	17.9	2273	38.5	37.0	24.5	2024	34.1	45.3	20.6	1706
Total, 0-7	66.1	22.6	11.3	4056	54.8	30.1	15.1	4623	46.1	33.2	20.7	3716	41.8	40.1	18.1	3100
8	47.1	35.3	17.5	2081	32.9	41.1	25.7	2659	26.5	43.6	29.8	2513	21.5	48.9	29.7	2403
9-11	33.5	35.6	30.9	508	26.1	38.1	35.8	888	21.2	39.0	39.8	1176	17.7	46.4	36.0	1782
Total, 0-11	57.7	27.6	14.8	6645	44.6	34.6	20.8	8170	35.5	37.7	26.8	7405	29.2	44.5	26.3	7285
12	22.0	37.3	40.7	754	15.0	40.8	44.1	1273	13.1	40.9	45.9	1544	9.0	40.8	50.2	3319
College 1	8.9	36.7	54.4	91	7.5	27.9	64.6	147	3.6	14.9	81.5	168	1.6	17.1	81.3	310
2	19.3	25.4	55.2	180	10.8	27.0	62.2	259	8.0	23.1	68.9	251	5.7	26.9	67.4	513
3	17.6	26.5	55.9	32	5.3	21.1	73.7	57	3.8	35.8	60.4	53	6.8	26.5	66.7	117
4	14.0	22.6	63.4	185	7.9	21.7	70.4	267	7.6	14.4	78.0	355	4.5	15.8	79.7	639
5 or more	5.4	11.6	83.0	112	2.3	11.7	86.0	171	1.3	13.3	85.3	225	3.1	11.1	85.9	523
Total, Coll.	13.5	23.8	62.7	600	7.4	22.3	70.3	901	5.5	17.4	77.1	1052	4.1	18.1	77.7	2102
NA	66.7	25.6	7.7	921	55.8	33.8	10.4	866	53.4	34.9	11.7	682	41.0	41.2	17.9	532
TOTAL	52.6	27.9	19.5	8920	39.1	34.3	26.6	11210	30.5	36.0	33.6	10683	20.6	39.3	40.1	13238

SOURCE: Unpublished tabulations from the March, 1973 Current Population Survey Supplement, "Occupational Changes in a Generation"

TABLE 14. 1973 Reports of the Distribution of Father's Educational Attainment By Sons Educational Attainment, for Sons Aged 22-31 in:

	1940				1950				1960				1970			
Father's Education	All Sons	<HSG	HSG	Some Coll	All Sons	<HSG	HSG	Some Coll	All Sons	<HSG	HSG	Some Coll	All Sons	<HSG	HSG	Some Coll
Elementary: 0-4	27.2	38.9	17.3	12.0	22.7	37.6	16.7	10.1	16.9	32.3	13.5	7.8	11.0	28.5	9.4	4.0
5-7	23.5	26.8	23.4	15.6	22.0	27.4	22.5	14.0	20.2	27.0	20.7	14.1	13.4	23.1	15.5	6.8
Total, less than 8	50.7	65.7	40.7	27.6	44.7	65.0	39.2	24.1	37.1	59.3	34.2	21.9	24.4	51.6	24.9	10.8
8	26.0	24.0	32.6	21.9	25.7	22.5	31.0	23.6	25.1	23.1	30.4	21.4	18.9	20.5	23.6	13.7
High School 1-3	6.4	4.2	8.0	9.4	8.6	6.0	9.5	11.0	11.8	8.6	12.7	13.3	14.0	12.5	16.6	12.3
Total, non-HS grad	83.1	93.9	81.3	58.9	79.0	93.5	79.7	58.7	74.0	91.0	77.3	56.6	57.3	84.6	65.1	36.8
4	9.4	4.1	12.5	18.5	12.3	4.9	14.6	19.4	15.4	7.0	17.5	20.2	26.1	11.9	27.2	31.9
College: 1	1.1	.2	1.5	2.9	1.4	.3	1.2	3.3	1.7	.2	.7	3.9	2.4	.2	1.1	4.8
2	2.3	.9	2.0	6.0	2.5	.7	2.0	5.6	2.5	.7	1.6	4.9	4.0	1.2	2.8	6.6
3	.4	.1	.4	1.1	.6	.1	.3	1.5	.5	.1	.5	.9	.9	.3	.6	1.5
4	2.3	.6	1.9	7.1	2.6	.5	1.6	6.5	3.5	.9	1.4	7.9	5.0	1.2	2.0	9.8
5+	1.4	.1	.6	5.6	1.7	.1	.6	5.1	2.2	.1	.8	5.5	4.1	.6	1.2	8.6
Total, Some Coll	7.5	1.9	6.4	22.7	8.8	1.7	5.7	22.0	10.4	2.0	5.0	23.1	16.4	3.5	7.7	31.3
Not Available																
Total	100.0	99.9	100.2	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.8	100.0	99.8	99.9	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	7999	4081	2255	1663	10344	3899	3551	2894	10001	2889	3605	3507	12706	2514	4978	5214

SOURCE: Unpublished tabulations from the March, 1973, Current Population Survey Supplement, "Occupational Changes in a Generation." These data have been adjusted to account for exculsion of those for whom father's education was not available.

ABLE 15. 1973 Reports of the Percentage of Sons that had Attained Some College Among Those Who Had Completed High School by Father's Educational Attainment for Sons Who Were Aged 22-31 in:

Father's Education		1940	1950	1960	1970
Elementary:	0-4	33.7%	33.0%	36.0%	30.9%
	5-7	33.0%	33.7%	39.8%	31.3%
Total, Less than 8		33.3%	33.4%	38.4%	31.1%
	8	33.1%	38.3%	40.6%	37.8%
High School	1-3	46.5%	47.8%	50.5%	43.7%
Total, Non-HS Grad		34.9%	37.5%	41.6%	37.1%
	4	52.2%	51.9%	52.9%	55.2%
College:	1	59.7%	69.8%	84.5%	82.6%
	2	68.5%	69.7%	74.9%	71.5%
	3	67.8%	77.7%	62.8%	71.6%
	4	73.7%	76.4%	84.4%	83.5%
	5+	87.7%	88.0%	86.5%	88.6%
Total, Some College		72.4%	75.9%	81.6%	81.1%
Not Available		23.1%	23.5%	25.1%	30.3%
Total		41.1%	43.7%	48.3%	50.5%

Source: Unpublished Tabulations from the March, 1973 Current Population Survey Supplement, "Occupational Changes in a Generation."

TABLE 16. Distribution of Parent's Characteristics Among Entering Freshmen, All Institutions: Selected Years, 1966-1977.

Father's Education Years of School Completed	All Families	Families of 1st-time Students	All Families	Families of 1st-time Students	All Families	Families of 1st-t: Students
8 years or less	31.6	9.4	25.1	8.8	19.9	6.9
1-3 years of high school	26.4	15.7	17.6	15.8	17.6	13.1
4 years of high school	29.2	29.1	32.5	30.9	32.9	29.5
1-3 years of college[FN1]	8.5	19.1	10.8	16.9	12.2	17.5
4 years of college	6.2	16.9	7.2	18.4	9.5	18.5
5 or more years of college[FN2]	4.2	9.7	6.0	9.3	7.9	14.6
Mother's Education Years of School Completed						
8 years or less	17.5	5.9	14.1	5.3	9.8	4.6
1-3 yewrs high school	20.5	13.5	19.5	13.4	17.3	11.3
4 years high school	44.7	42.2	46.4	45.0	46.7	42.9
1-3 years college[FN1]	9.5	20.4	10.9	17.9	13.8	20.1
4 years college	5.6	15.3	6.1	15.2	8.0	14.2
5 or more years college[FN2]	2.0	2.7	2.8	3.1	4.4	6.9
Family Income (in dollars)	1965	1966	1970	1970	1975	1975
Less than 4,000	23.8	6.6	14.0	5.9	7.9	6.5
000-5,999	17.2	12.9	11.1	7.7	8.2	4.5
00-7,999	17.6	17.3	12.3	10.7	8.5	5.2
,000-9,999	16.1	16.9	13.6	13.3	8.5	6.5
10,000-14,999	17.7	25.2	26.8	31.0	22.3	25.4
15,000-24,999	6.2	14.0	17.7	20.5	30.3	30.0
25,000 or more	1.4	7.1	4.6	10.9	14.1	21.9

Sources: ACE, National Norms for Entering Freshmen (1966, 1971, 1977); Family Income data are from A Fact Book on Higher Education (1977: 77,36) and The U.S. Fact Book (1977); Data on all "fathers" (45-54 year-old males in the relevant years) and all "mothers" (35-44 year-old females in the relevant years) are from Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Nos. 158, 229, and 314.

FN1: In 1977, the percentage of "families with first-time students" whose mothers or fathers had had 1-3 years of college combines those with "some college" and those with "other postsecondary."

FN2: The 1966 and 1971 data on families of first-time students with mothers and fathers who had had five or more years of college are actually the percentage with a post-graduate degree.

Table 17 College Enrollment Rates of Dependent Family Members 18 to 24 Years Old, by Family Income and Sex: October 1967 to October 1976

(In 1967 dollars)

Sex and family income	Percent enrolled									
	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967
BOTH SEXES										
All incomes	38.8	38.7	36.2	36.6	37.8	38.9	39.1	41.3	39.7	39.1
Less than $5,000	22.4	23.5	20.3	20.1	22.6	22.8	20.8	24.8	22.5	20.0
$5,000 to $9,999	36.3	35.1	31.7	31.2	34.2	35.4	36.6	38.8	38.5	37.9
$10,000 to $14,999	47.5	45.4	41.4	42.7	44.2	46.4	48.4	50.6	50.7	51.9
$15,000 and over	58.2	59.6	57.5	56.6	56.9	61.8	61.7	65.2	63.0	68.3
Not reported	34.9	37.9	38.0	39.8	36.5	36.6	37.1	38.6	37.4	36.4
MALE										
All incomes	35.3	36.7	34.9	36.5	37.8	40.0	40.9	44.4	43.5	42.9
s than $5,000	18.9	20.2	19.5	19.9	21.5	22.0	20.7	25.9	23.1	22.1
,000 to $9,999	32.1	33.2	29.5	30.6	34.3	37.0	38.4	41.3	42.0	43.0
$10,000 to $14,999	43.0	43.0	40.5	41.4	43.7	48.3	50.7	54.7	56.6	56.8
$15,000 and over	54.5	56.5	56.0	56.8	57.3	61.9	63.7	70.5	66.7	71.0
Not reported	33.6	40.2	37.3	41.0	37.9	38.2	39.1	41.3	42.3	39.2
FEMALE										
All incomes	43.2	41.2	37.9	36.8	38.0	37.5	37.0	37.8	35.5	34.9
Less than $5,000	26.4	27.4	21.4	20.3	23.9	23.7	20.8	23.5	21.9	17.5
$5,000 to $9,999	41.6	37.6	34.7	31.9	34.2	33.5	34.5	35.9	34.5	32.0
$10,000 to $14,999	53.1	48.5	42.7	44.3	45.0	44.0	45.5	46.0	44.6	46.3
$15,000 and over	63.1	63.6	59.5	56.4	56.4	61.6	59.3	58.6	58.3	65.2
Not reported	36.6	35.0	39.0	38.3	34.7	34.3	34.6	35.6	32.1	33.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 319, Table A, p.5.

TABLE 18. Percent Distribution of Dependent Family Members 18 to 24 Years Old, by College Enrollment, Family Income, and Sex: Oct. 1967 and Oct. 1976 (in 1967 Dollars). Expected Enrollments based on 1967 ratio.

1976

	Men			Women		
Family Income	Total Pop.	Enrolled	Expected	Total Pop.	Enrolled	Expected
	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Under 5000	23.4	12.5	11.6	24.8	14.8	12.25
5000-9000	36.3	32.9	35.3	36.5	34.5	32.85
10000-14999	22.7	27.5	29.1	21.9	26.5	28.6
15000+	17.6	27.1	28.4	16.9	24.2	31.1

1967

	Men		Women	
Family Income	Total Pop.	Enrolled	Total Pop.	Enrolled
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5000	23.9	11.6	24.3	12.0
5000-9999	42.8	41.6	42.1	37.9
10000-14999	21.7	27.8	21.9	28.6
15000+	11.6	18.7	11.7	21.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 319, Tables A&B, pp. 5-6.

80 TABLE 19. Percent of Each Group Attending or Admitted to College, Selected Surveys, 1944-1972.

Father's Education	1944-1950 #1 M	1944-1950 #1 F	1947 #2	1950 #3 M	1950 #3 F	1955 #4 M	1955 #4 F	1957 #5 M	1957 #5 F	1960 #6 M	1960 #6 F	1965-7 #7	1965-68 #8 M	1965-68 #8 F	1966 #9	1972 #10
None			--			--	--					--				
Grade School: 1-8			17.6			24	16					8: 22.2				
High School: 9-11			26.2			--	--					8-11 35.				
12			38.5			36	26					53.6				
College: 1-3			52.4			--	--					62.5				
4			60.9			--	--					4+: 82.4				
5+			78.2			--	--					--				
Total, some HS or less			20.3			--	--					--				
Total, some college or more			59.2			68	60					--				
NA/DK			19.2			22	17					33.3				
Total			30.2			36	27					46.9				
Father's Occupation																
Professionsl, Scientific			--			77	66	--								
Professional, non-scientific			--			69	70	--							70-82	
Professional and executive			67.1			--	--	64				Total				
Technical			--			52	40	--				White			60	
Business supervisory			--			50	41	--				Collar			--	
Small business proprietor			40.5			--	--	43				64.1			61	
Business nonsupervisory			--			51	43	--							--	
Office or sales			--			--	--	46				Total			60-63	
White collar worker			40.1			--	--	--				Manual/			--	
Service trade worker			19.7			--	--	20				Service			45	
Skilled worker			--			26	15	28				36.9			46	
Semiskilled worker			--			23	15	20							--	
Factory and other worker			16.4			--	--	--							33-35	
Other			26.6			27	18	30							--	
Farmer			19.0			28	21	18				36.1			owner 46	
NA/DK			--			--	--	--				--			--	
Total			30.2			36	27	30				46.9			--	
Class/SES																
Upper and Upper-Middle	72	80		68.7												
Lower-Middle	43	34		32.0												
Upper-Lower	19	21		20.5												
Lower-Lower	4	0		13.8												
1st ¼ or 1/5								20.5	8.5	24	15		32	18		Low 36.6
Second ¼ or 1/5								33.8	21.2	40	24		53	36		Mid 54.2
Third ¼ or 1/5								44.6	30.5	53	32		69	51		Hi 85.5
Fourth ¼ or 1/5								73.4	62.6	65	51		86	78		
Top 1/5								--	-	81	75		--	--		
Total	27	25		34.6				43.	.7	49	35		58	43		.4

NOTES

Table on "PERCENT OF EACH GROUP ATTENDING OR ADMITTED TO COLLEGE: SELECTED SURVEYS, 1944-1972."

#1 - These data are based on a study by Robert J. Havighurst of "River City," a medium-sized city. Figures adapted from Table 5, p. 31, of Havighurst, American Higher Education in the 1960's. Estimates of the total percentages attending by sex are based on the assumption that there were an equal number of males and females in the population.

#2 - Data adapted from Elmo Roper, Factors Affecting the Admission of High School Seniors to College, pp. 142, 142, 251, 252. An excellent study of 10,063 HS seniors, these data reflect those who reported that they had been accepted by a college ("admitted to any college") among high school seniors in May, 1947.

#3 - Based on data from R.C. White, These Will Go To College. Data were collected in June 1950 from 1053 soon-to-be high school graduates in the Cleveland-Akron-Lorain area. A follow-up 15 months later found these percentages enrolled in college. It should be noted that Havighurst's "upper and upper middle" class comprised only 9.5% of the population, while White's makes up 24%.

#4 - These data are from a follow-up study of the class of 1955, Background Factors Relating to College Plans and College Enrollment Among Public High School Students, completed by the Educational Testing Service in 1957. The data presented reflect those who had enrolled in Fall, 1955, according to high school principals' reports in early 1956. The follow-up covered approximately 6500 students. It should be noted that the father's education categories presented in this report are not exhaustive, and I have been unable to correct for this in my presentation of them.

#5 - SES data are based on Table 1 in William Sewell and V P. Shah "Socio-Economic Status and the Attainment of Higher Education." These data are based on a longitudinal study of 1957 high school seniors in Wisconsin. The data for father's occupation are for those who planned on college. These are taken from Beeyer and Hjelm (1961: 17).

#6 -Table 10.2 in Folger, Cestin, and Bayer (1970:310). These percentages are taken from the Project TALENT one-year follow-up of 12th grade students.

#7 - Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 185, "Factors Related to High School Graduation and College Attendance: 1967." These data refer to the percentage of October 1965 high school seniors who graduated that had attended or were attending college in February 1967.

#8 - Tables VII. and VII. in Wise and Steel (1980:119). These figures are probabilities of entering college within 5 years after high school from each SES quarterly, based on the five-year-followup of the four TALENT classes.

#9 - Table 6-3 in Tillery (1973: 58). These data are from the SCOPE study of 1966 high school seniors in North Carolina, Illinois, California, and Massachusetts.

#10- Table 3.12 in Golladay and Noell (1978: 131). These data are from the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. The figures represent the percentage from each SES group that had attained some college by fall, 1976.

TABLE 20. Percentage of Student Body that is Female at Two-Year, Four-Year, and All Institutions, 1939-1977: Degree-Credit Students.

Year	All Institutions	Four-Year	Two-Year
1939	40	39	48
1947	29	29	32
1949	30	29	34
1950	32	31	36
1952	35	35	40
1954	36	36	39
1956	35	35	35
1958	35	35	36
1960	37	37	38
1962	38	38	38
1964	39	39	38
1966	40	40	39
1968	41	41	39
1970	42	42	42
1972	43	43	44
1974	45	44	47
1976	47	46	50
1977	48	47	51

Sources: A Fact Book on Higher Education, 1970 and 1977.

TABLE 21. Percentage Enrolled in Two Year Colleges, By Sex: 1963-1978.

	Percent of Total Enrollment in Two-Year Colleges		Percent of Undergraduates in Two-Year Colleges	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1963	18.0	17.2	--	--
1965	20.2	19.2	--	--
1970	26.1	25.6	27.6	26.1
1971	27.8	27.7	27.1	25.8
1972	29.5	30.5	28.3	26.1
1973	30.7	32.1	26.7	26.1
1974	32.6	34.2	29.1	27.2
1975	35.2	35.8	32.1	30.9
1976	34.1	36.6	29.6	29.3
1977	33.9	37.8	28.7	31.2
1978	33.4	38.1	29.0	31.2

Sources: Data on total enrollment are compiled from Tables 79 and 95 in Grant and Eiclen (1980). Data on undergraduate enrollment are taken from Table 5 of Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 335.

TABLE 22. Percent Distribution of Degree-Credit Students Enrolled at Different Types of Institutions, by Sex: 1967 and 1978.

Type of Institution	Total		Male		Female	
	1967	1978	1967	1978	1967	1978
Universities: Private	10.3	6.6	11.7	7.5	8.2	5.6
Public	26.6	19.3	27.8	20.9	24.9	17.7
Other 4-year: Private	18.4	15.0	18.0	15.7	19.0	14.3
Public	22.2	25.5	19.9	24.9	25.6	26.2
Two-Year: Private	2.1	1.7	2.0	1.0	2.4	2.4
Public	20.3	31.8	20.7	29.9	19.9	33.7
Total	99.9	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.0	99.9
Total Degree-Credit Enrollment	6670416	10048450	4009443	5084762	2660973	4963688

SOURCES: Fall Enrollment in Higher Education, 1967 and 1978.

TABLE 23 Percentage of Women Enrolled (of Total Degree-Credit Enrollment) at Upper-Tier Institutions, 1960 and 1978.

Institutions	1960	1978	Percentage Point Difference
Ivy League	22.5	38.5	16
Other Prestigious	26.4	40.6	14.2
Four-Year Institutions	37	47[2]	10
Two-Year Institutions	38	51[2]	13

1. "Other Pretigious" are those colleges ranked "most selective" or "Highly Selective" by Cass and Birnbaum in The Comparative College Guide.

2. 1977 data.

Sources: Fall Enrollment in Higher Education, 1978; Office of Education, Circular No. 637, 1960; A Fact Book On Higher Education, 1977.

TABLE 24 Weight to National Norms for All Freshman -- Black Percentage of Student Population, 1965-1979

Year	All Institut	All 2-Yr Colleges	All 4-yr Colleges	All Universities	Predominantly Black Colleges	Two-Year College		Four-Year College				Universities		Predominantly Black College	
						Public	Private	Public	Private	Prot.	Cath.	Public	Private	Public	Private
1966	5.0	4.1	7.7	1.6		5.0	0.5	10.1	12.9	6.0	1.1	1.5	2.1		
1967	4.3	3.2	6.6	1.9	97.7	3.4	1.8	8.8	10.9	5.4	1.4	1.8	2.1		
1968	5.8	4.3	8.8	3.2	94.3	4.7	3.3	9.8	8.8	13.0	1.9	3.3	2.6		
1969	6.0	3.8	8.3	5.7	95.0	4.1	3.1	6.8	13.3	13.6	2.5	3.4	15.2		
1970	9.1	14.2	8.1	3.6	95.7	16.9	4.1	9.2	9.1	8.0	3.5	2.9	5.3		
1971	6.3	4.7	9.4	3.8	96.2	5.0	2.3	10.3	12.3	9.9	3.1	3.6	4.5		
1972	8.7	8.7	11.9	3.5	98.4	9.1	4.8	15.0	10.0	11.1	5.8	3.2	4.8		
1973	7.8	8.3	10.2	3.0	98.7	8.5	5.6	10.7	9.4	13.5	2.7	2.4	5.2	98.2	98.9
1974	7.4	6.7	11.0	3.4	97.2	6.7	7.5	12.5	7.9	10.9	7.5	3.1	4.7	96.5	98.8
1975	9.0	8.5	11.9	5.4	98.0	7.9	16.1	13.2	11.2	11.1	6.4	5.6	4.6	97.5	98.7
1976	8.4	6.7	11.6	6.9	98.2	6.7	7.9	14.7	7.6	9.2	5.9	5.9	10.4	98.1	98.6
1977	8.8	6.8	12.6	6.0	98.2	6.4	10.5	15.6	8.1	11.3	4.6	5.1	9.4	98.1	98.5
1978	8.1	6.1	11.3	6.4	97.3	5.5	11.1	13.3	8.9	9.7	6.1	5.5	9.6	97.2	97.6
1979	9.2	7.0	13.3	6.1	88.2	6.7	9.3	16.5	10.1	10.0	5.7	6.3	5.6	86.0	94.0
1980	9.2	6.8	13.5	6.3	97.9	6.7	7.6	16.5	9.3	14.1	3.1	6.5	5.5	97.9	97.9

TABLE 25. Percentage of College Students at Two-Year and Four-Year Colleges, by Ethnic/Race Category, 1966-1978: Selected Years.

	1966[1]		1971[1,3]		1972[4]		1976[2]		1978,[2,5]	
Ethnic/Race Category	2 YR.	4 YR.	2 YR.	4 YR.	2 YR.	4 YR.	2 YR.	4YR.	2 YR.	4 Y
White	17.2	82.8			31.2	68.9	33.8	66.2	34.5	65.
Nonwhite	21.7	78.3								
Black			29.3	70.7	29.8	70.1	41.5	58.5	42.0	58.
Hispanic					53.4	46.7	50.3	49.6	54.4	45.
Asian/ Pacific Islander							40.0	60.0	41.4	58.
Native American							53.9	46.2	55.1	44.
Total	17.4	82.6	27.7	72.3			35.3	64.8	35.9	64.

NOTES: 1. Total undergraduate enrollment
2. Total Enrollment.
3. These percentages are based on the exclusion of those cases for which college type was not reported. It is likely, due to the much-reported finding of a correlation between non-reporting and being in the lower parts of the social structure, that this underestimates black representation in two-year colleges.
4. These data represent the distribution of enrollments for those in the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 sample that attended 2-year or 4-year colleges in the semester after scheduled high school completion. These estimates are corroborated by the data in Perg (1977).
5. Data from The Condition of Education for Hispanic Americans (1980: 148, 150) indicate that the percentage of Hispanic full-time undergraduates attending two-year colleges was 42%, down from 45% in 1976, and the percentage of Hispanic freshmen and sophomores enrolled in two-year colleges was 55%. Corresponding figures for whites were 23% and 35%.

SOURCES: 1966 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of Students and Their Colleges: October 1966," Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 183, Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1969, Table A., p. 1.

1971 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Undergraduate Enrollment in Two-Year and Four-Year Colleges: October 1970," Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 236, Washington D.C.: USGPO, 1972, Table B, p. 2.

SOURCES, TABLE , continued

1972 - Michael A. Oliver, The Dilemma of Access: Minorities in Two-Year Colleges, Washington, D.C.: Howard U. Press and Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, 1979, Table 2-14, pp. 36-7.

1976 - NCES, Digest of Education Statistics 1979, Table 94.

1978 - Nancy B. Dearman and Valena White Plisko, The Condition of Education: 1980 Edition, Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1980, Table 3.5, p. 110.

TABLE 7 Distribution of Students into Different Types of Institutions, by Race: 1966-1970.

Race, Year	College Rank[1]					College Types							
	Low	Med	High	Not Available	Total	2 YR.	Other 4 YR.	UNIV.	Total	3 Ivy League	Prestigious Colleges	Predominantly Black Colleges	Total
1966													
Black	32.3	23.8	8.5	34.8	100							50.7	
White	14.9	43.9	23.4	17.8	100								
Total	15.8	42.9	22.8	18.5	100								
Total (67)	35	38	9	19	100								
% Black in:												98.2	
1970													
Black												42.7	6.9
% Black in:										5.1	3.9	93.8	
1972													
Black	70.9	17.3	11.8	--	100								
White	49.2	33.5	17.3	--	100								
% Black in:				--									
1974[2]													
Black													
% Black in:										6.7	4.5		
1976[2]													
Black						41.5	44.0	14.5	100			36.0[5]	100
White						33.8	39.6	26.6	100				
Hispanic						50.3	33.7	15.9	100				
Asian						40.0	32.6	27.4	100				
Native Amer.						53.9	29.3	16.9	100				
Total						35.3	39.6	25.2	100				
% Black in:										6.3	4.8		
1978													
Black						42.0	44.1	14.0	100				
White						34.5	39.4	26.2	100				
Hispanic						54.4	32.9	12.7	100				
Asian						41.4	32.9	25.7	100				
Native Amer.						55.1	29.5	15.4	100				
Total						35.9	39.3	24.8	100				

NOTES

1. In 1966, "college rank," a measure of freshman aptitude at particular colleges, was based on the average of the scores obtained by students from the Project TALENT sample attending particular institutions of higher education. Since, as the report notes, "institutions with less than 10 freshmen in the Project TALENT survey were not ranked," (p. 7) there was a large proportion of colleges (19%) for which rank was unavailable. It should also be noted that the probable reason for the much higher percentage of unranked colleges among blacks is that, with over half of the blacks attending black colleges, it is likely that these were disproportionately "institutions with less than 10 freshmen in the Project TALENT survey." CPS surveyed male college graduates in 1967 and used a more stringent classification; this yields the distribution of enrollments noted by "Total (67)."

   The 1972 college rank data are based on Astin's selectivity levels as applied to those who attended postsecondary educational institutions from the high school class of 1972. While not strictly comparable to the 1966 categories (the 1972 categories appear to be quite a bit more stringent than even the 1967 categorization), blacks and whites at least may be compared in each year.

2. The distribution of students in Ivy League, Prestigious Colleges and Predominantly Black Colleges is based on total undergraduate enrollment.

3. Ivy League institutions: Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Penn, Princeton, Yale.

4. Prestigious colleges were so called by Levitan, Johnston, and Taggart (1975: 101). They are "colleges ranked 'most selective' or 'highly selective' in The Comparative College Guide by James Cass and Max Birnbaum." (p. 101) The data for these institutions for 1974 and 1976 used the same definition.

5. Based on total enrollment in "institutions and branches attended predominantly by black students" (Table 91 in Digest of Education Statistics 1980) divided by total enrollment of black non-Hispanics (Table 92 of Digest) in fall 1976.

SOURCES

1966 - U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of Students and Their Colleges: October, 1966," Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 183, Washington D.C.: USGPO, 1969, Tables F, 3, and 10.

1970 - Sar A. Levitan, William B. Johnston, and Robert Taggart, Still A Dream: The Changing Status of Blacks Since 1960, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975, p. 101. From OCR (1972).

1972 - Bailey and Collins (1977). Reprinted in Warren W. Willingham et al., "The Status of Selective Admissions," Part Three of Selective Admissions in Higher Education, San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1977, pp. 78-79, 156-157.

SOURCES (continued)

1974 - Office of Civil Right (1976).

1976 - Office of Civil Rights (1978) and NCES, Digest of Education Statistics, Table 94.

1978 - Condition of Education - 1980 edition.

TABLE 27. College Attendance Patterns Among Students Whose Fathers Had Had Some College, Selected Years: 1959-1980.

Percent in each student body with fathers who had some college.

Type of College[1]	1959[2]	1966[3]	1970[3]	1975[3]	1975[4]	1980[3]
Private Universities	60	64	62	72		74
Research					76	
PhD-Granting					62	
Comprehensive					51	
Public Universities	49	49	58	59		62
Research					65	
PhD-Granting					54	
Comprehensive					45	
Private Colleges	43					
Protestant		54	53	53		56
Catholic		54	54	53		57
Non-Sectarian		63	61	59		61
Liberal Arts I			84[6]	81[6]	77	87[6]
Liberal Arts II					50	
Public Colleges	31	34	38	46		46
Liberal Arts II					35	
Two-Year Colleges		35	31	34	33	36
Public	29	34	28	33	33	35
Private	39	39	43	35	47	40
Percent of 45-54 yr-old males with some college[5]	12.5 (1960)	18.9	24.0 (1971)	29.6 (1977)	29.6 (1977)	29.6 (1977)

NOTES:

1. College type categories have been taken from American Council on Education, National Norms for Entering Freshmen, and Carnegie Council, Three Thousand Futures, (1980:62).

2. Data from Medaker and Trent (1972: 47). These data pertain to June, 1959, high school graduates from 16 communities in the Midwest, California, and Pennsylvania, who were attending college in October, 1959.

3. Data pertain to freshmen. Compiled from American Council on Education National Norms for Entering Freshmen.

4. These data, from Table 5 of Three Thousand Futures (Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1980: 62) is based on the Carnegie Council Survey of Undergraduates, 1975.

5. The 1960 data are taken from Current Population Reports, Series P-2, No. , Table A. This figure represents the percentage of

TABLE . NOTES, continued

fathers with some college among men aged 20 to 24 in October, 1960. This figure probably provides the best comparison group for this table. The other figures in this row, representing the percentages of 45-54 year-old males in 1966, 1971, and 1977 (Sources: Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Nos. 158, 229, 314) diverge from the most desirable comparison group for a number of reasons. First, it is likely that the proper age for fathers is about 40-49. Second, we should be comparing fathers with similarly aged children, not a sample of similarly aged fathers. While the inclusion of more older men than is optimal probably leads to an underestimation of the percentage completing some college, the inclusion of all men, rather than fathers, probably increases the percentage completing some college, since fertility is inversely related to educational attainment.

6. These data are from ACE freshman norms. I have included the father's education data for "4 year private nonsectarian - very high selectivity" colleges for comparison with the Carnegie Liberal Arts I category. While not strictly comparable, one might at least agree that there has not been a decrease in the percentage of second-generation collegian at these colleges. Please note that the figure in the 1970 column is from 1973 data.

TABLE 28. Percentage of Students Attending Different Kinds of Institutions, by Father's Education: 1966, 1971, and 1977.

	Year and Level of Father's Education					
	Less than High School Graduate			At Least College Graduates		
Institution	1966	1971	1977	1966	1971	1977
ALL	25.1	24.6	20.0	26.6	27.7	33.1
Public two-year	34.0	32.3	26.0	15.3	16.4	22.4
Public four-year	31.5	27.6	21.9	15.9	21.8	28.2
Private four-year nonsectarian	17.2	15.4	13.8	44.9	46.9	47.9
Public University	21.9	17.1	11.5	28.8	36.4	45.7
Private University	14.2	11.1	9.6	44.9	52.9	58.0
All Men 45-54[1]:	52.0	42.7	37.5	10.4	13.2	17.4

Notes: 1. See note 5 of previous table.

Sources: ACE, National Norms of Entering Freshmen

Table 29. *Percentage Distribution of Freshman Enrollment in Public and Private Institutions of Higher Education, by Income Class, 1966, 1970, and 1975*

	Universities						*Four-year colleges*						*Two-year colleges*					
	Public			*Private*			*Public*			*Private*			*Public*			*Private*		
Parental income	*1966*	*1970*	*1975*	*1966*	*1970*	*1975*	*1966*	*1970*	*1975*	*1966*	*1970*	*1975*	*1966*	*1970*	*1975*	*1966*	*1970*	*1975*
Less than half the median	11	7	9	8	7	7	21	14	16	12	10	15	17	21	20	16	14	27
Half the median to the median	27	26	27	19	23	19	33	35	33	22	27	30	30	37	38	30	31	34
The median to one and a half times the median	31	31	29	26	27	24	28	30	27	28	27	24	30	26	24	28	24	19
One and a half times to twice the median	14	16	16	15	16	15	11	12	13	15	14	12	13	9	10	13	11	9
More than twice the median	17	20	20	32	28	36	8	9	12	24	23	21	11	7	9	14	19	11

Sources: Calculated from data in Alexander W. Astin and others, *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1975* (Los Angeles: University of California and American Council on Education, Cooperative Institutional Research Program, Graduate School of Education, n.d.); staff of the Office of Research, American Council on Education, *National Norms for Entering College Freshmen—Fall 1970, ACE Research Reports*, vol. 5, no. 6 (1970), and Astin and others, ibid., *Fall 1966*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1967); and official median income data from *Economic Report of the President*, January 1977, p. 216.

Source: McPherson (1978:172).

NOTES.

1. The data do seem to suggest that older, nonwhite, more educated people overreport more than older, white, more educated people. This pattern, then indicates an apparent degree of convergence between blacks and whites as cohorts age (cf. Farley, 1968; Hare, 1965).

2. Since Kitagawa and Hauser's (1973) data are based on 1960 estimates, it is probable that they should not be extrapolated backward in time. The reason that differential mortality does not account for much of the difference in reported educational attainment is because, though mortality rates by educational level vary more in younger than in older cohorts, overall mortality is quite low in those cohorts younger than the 55-64 year-old cohort (cf. Kitagawa and Hauser, 1973: 27, Table 2.8).

3. These trends in college continuation rates are affected by a number of sociological selection mechanisms, which will not be detailed or empirically tested here. It should be noted, however, that one can scarcely expect to gain an understanding of the distribution of educational attainments in the population over time if one looks only at Table 2. For instance, one would have quite a wrong impression of black-white educational differentials in 1940 if one simply compared their continuation rates. These rates hide the tremendous disparities in high school graduation rates that existed between the two populations. For an estimate of the percentage of an age cohort by race that had completed at least some college in 1940, see Table 3. (To check the accuracy of these estimates, I multiplied the college continuation rates by the high school graduation rates for whites and nonwhites in 1940. The figures are quite close.) There we see that whites were attending college at more than three times the rate of blacks. This indicates that one must account for the "selectedness" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) of a group before computing its educational continuation or completion rates or that one should compute the distribution of a group's educational attainment with the entire population of the group as a base.

4. See Folger and Nam, 1967 and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978) for further documentation that Asians have generally had higher educational attainments than whites. This relationship holds even when controlling for class background; though it seems that Asians have not been able to convert their educational attainments into occupational status as well as whites have. See Featherman and Hauser, (1978), Chapter 8.

5. Differences in these estimates stem from a variety of sources. The various sources listed use different criteria to determine who is and who is not a college student. Since the percentages listed are sensitive to changes in either the numerator (number of blacks in college) or the denominator (total number of college students), the estimates seem to vary rather widely. The fact that the Office of Civil Rights data are collected from institutions, while Census data are collected from individuals, is, presumably, one source of variation in the estimates. Other sources include the timing (fall or spring) of surveys, definition of college student (full-time, part-time, full-time equivalent; undergraduate, graduate, professional, total) and whether nonwhites are separated from blacks. If the numbers given for black enrollments were

clearly and specifically denoted, it would be possible to estimate their percentages of total enrollment (since these are specifically and clearly denoted: by degree or non-degree-credit, by enrollment status, by degree level, etc.). As it stands, I have been unable to link the various number estimates of black enrollment to a total enrollment figure that yields the percentage estimates. For further discussion of the unreliability and nature of these estimates, see Morris (1979: 73-6).

6. Below I shall deal with the question of where, within the system of higher education, blacks have access. It is important to point out, however, that while black undergraduate representation has approached proportionality with the population, this has been true more for freshmen and sophomores than for college juniors and seniors, indicating that blacks stop out, if not drop out, more than whites (blacks and whites attend full-time in approximately equal percentages). See Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 333, No. 286.

7. Two qualifications to this statement should be made. First, the most recent data seem to indicate that women in the youngest cohorts (aged approximately 20-30) have again outstripped men in their rates of high school graduation. Second, we should probably not put too much faith in this exercise in extrapolating trends from cross-sectional data, since these data, in particular, are sensitive to historical changes in rates of subsequent completions (due to armed forces participation) and in rates of overreporting (due to entry of women into the labor force).

8. It is noted in U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 346, "School Enrollment - Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October, 1978," Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1979, that:

> Enrollment rates of these civilian men who were 18 to 24 years old appeared to drop substantially between 1970 and 1978. However, because of the tremendous declines in Armed Forces participation, many more men were included in the civilian population used as the base for enrollment rate calculation in 1978. If Armed Forces and civilian men are combined, the enrollment changes during the period would appear smaller. The rates would decline from 37 percent to 33 percent of 18- and 19 -year-olds; from 31 to 28 percent of 20- and 21-year-olds; and remain stable for 22- to 24-year-olds at about 18 percent... (p. 2)

9. As noted above with respect to blacks, though women have approached parity with men in terms of enrollment, the divergence in the rates of attainment and enrollment indicates a disparity in rates of persistence (aside from the expected difference that would be due to the age at which attainment is measured). Additional evidence that women have not persisted in college in the same proportions as have men is presented in Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 346, pp. 4-8.

10. In 1976, according to the Current Population Survey, 10.9% of 16-17 year-olds were not enrolled in school. Of the 16-17 year-old age cohort, it seems safe to say that 85.8% were enrolled in high school, 5.7% had been graduated, 3.3% were enrolled in college, and 8.5% were not enrolled and had not graduated from high school. See Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 319, Table 1.

11. Spady (1967) does this same analysis with the 1962 OCG data.

12. Needless to say, these may not be the perfect comparison groups. I would have been more comfortable had I been able to use data on 40-49 year-old females for comparison with the freshmen mothers. It is likely that the 35-44 year-old cohort is a bit younger and more highly educated than is the age cohort from which the college mothers come. It is also likely, then, that the distribution of educational backgrounds of these freshmen will appear less elite than if it had been compared to the educational distribution of correctly aged women. Another problem with these comparisons is that parents of freshmen in 1966 may not have been of the same age as parents of freshmen in 1977.

13. The difference between these data approximates the distinction between those who completed one year of college and those who ever enrolled in college. It is likely, given tendencies toward overreporting, that people who completed 1 year of college part-time (perhaps completing 2 courses) would report on the Current Population Survey's questions on attainment that they had completed one year of college. It should be pointed out, in addition, that these data differ from OCG in that at least part of the youngest OCG cohort was attending college in 1960, and was thus part of the baseline in the 1960 - present comparison. The non-OCG data reflect more recent college-going rates.

14. For an elaboration of this theme applied to classes, see Przeworski (1977).

15. Although my argument here revolves around political mobilization, it should more properly be cast in terms of political mobilization and its correlates. In addition to action on the part of government and college administrators, a change in aspirations, as part of a greater cultural change, had occurred during the 1970's that also affected where women applied and where they were accepted for college.

16. A number of studies have shown that college quality is related to subsequent educational and occupational attainments (e.g. Jencks et al., 1979; Alexander and Eckland, 1977). I am assuming here that universities are among those in the higher quality levels.

17. It is the case that during this time span the Ivy League institutions that did not already have an attached women's institution became coeducational. These administrative decisions, however, cannot be assumed to have had nothing to do with the general political climate of the time.

A note about the data in Table 23. These data include all degree-credit students and so probably underestimate the percentage of women in the top segments, since graduate and professional students are even more disproportionately male. Second, I have not adjusted the Ivy League data to account for the fact that some schools have sister institutions. It should also be noted that, during this 1960-1978 period, the percentage of women enrolled at the Seven Sister colleges declined from 99.3% to 92.5%, also a result of administrative decisions.

18. Carlos Arce (1978:170) suggests that other minority groups are not as well-placed as blacks in the higher education arena to have their demands translated immediately into results. Black experience with their own institutions has given them an edge in this domain.

19. It is for this reason that I have not included data on other racial/ethnic groups from the ACE freshmen norms. Their numbers are even smaller and would suffer from even greater sampling variablility.

20. Some of the other studies that include evidence about the relationship between social origins and where people went to college are: Moffet, 1929; Kiely, 1931; Potoff, 1931; Mook, 1949; Roper, 1949; Minnesota Commission on Higher Education, 1950; Burack, 1951; Hollinshead, 1952; R. Clyde White, 1952; Trent and Medsker, 1958; Schoenfeldt, 1968; Folger, Astin, and Bayer, 1970; Medsker and Trent, 1972; Karabel and Astin, 1975; Alexander and Eckland, 1977; American Council on Education, 1966-1980.

21. These studies are summarized in Hollinshead (1952).

22. Of course, the definition of "upper white collar" used by Clark was quite broad.

23. I have included data from several sources in this table: ACE Freshman Norms, Medsker-Trent (a followup of a cohort, and the Carnegie Council's survey of undergraduates. Despite these different samples, the percentages from each institutional type suggest that there is agreement across data sets.

24. This is true even if one computes father's education by percentile. Approximately 19% of 45-54 year-old males had completed some college in 1966, and a similar percentage had at least graduated college in 1977. The percentage of community college students from these backgrounds (the top fifth, approximately) declined between 1966 and 1977. Thus the finding reported in the text is not simply a function of changing percentages completing a particular level of education.

25. The 1975 Carnegie Council data show the greatest percentage of second-generation collegians at Liberal Arts I colleges. This category includes schools such as Amherst, Wesleyan, Williams, and Bennington. I have included in this table, for comparative purposes, the percentage of students whose fathers had attended college for the "very highly selective - 4-year private nonsectarian colleges" from the 1973, 1975, and 1980 ACE Freshman Norms. While not strictly comparable, the data do not indicate any diminution in the relationship between father's education and attending these colleges. Another supporting piece of evidence that the student bodies of these colleges have not changed much over time is provided by Pace's The Demise of Diversity. While he does not present data on father's education, he does show that "selective liberal arts colleges" are the most "distinctive," (according to a scale) based on a survey of alumni of the class of 1950 and of junior of the class of 1970, implying that their place in the hierarchy of colleges has remained relatively stable.

26. As the percentage of people in the population who have not graduated from high school decreases, it is probable that the children of this group will be increasingly more likely to attend two-year rather than four-year colleges. If college attendance maintains the same relationship to social origins, these children will be relatively more worse off than children of similarly educated parents a decade or more ageo, when the percentage of the population at this level of education was much higher.

27. Peng (1977) presents data that suggest that the likelihood of attending two-year colleges increased more between 1960 and 1972 (comparing TALENT and NLS '72) among the middle 50% of the SES distribution than it did among those from the bottom SES quartile.

28. It may be that precisely because the working class or those from lower socioeconomic groupings have not been politically mobilized that these data are not collected. It is the case that it was only since there was a black movement that data on racial and ethnic enrollments were collected. Indeed, it was only

after blacks were mobilized that there came into existence an Office of Civil Rights, which collects the enrollment data.

29. Hansen (1970), in "An Examination of Financial Barriers to College Attendance," deals extensively with the issue of the relationship between family income and college attendance. Using Bureau of the Census data he shows, for instance, that in 1968 there were large differences in income between families whose 18-24 year-old dependent members were enrolled in college ($10,500) and those whose children were not enrolled ($7,200) and that in October 1966 the median family income of 14-34 year-old dependent family members enrolled in low-ranking (by index of freshman aptitude) colleges was $8,400, in colleges of medium rank was $9,200 and in high-ranking colleges was $12,800. Hansen also reports statewide data on where people go to college by family income. In California, the 1964 median family income was $8ooo, while the incomes of parents with children at the University of California was $12,000, at state colleges--$10,000; and at junior colleges--$8,800. Data from Wisconsin showed a similar pattern. Hansen also reports 1968 freshmen data from the American Council on Education to support his point that family incomes vary by type of institution.

30. I have drawn extensively on this excellent su-mary of the literature in the section that follows.

31. The finding is not necessarily at variance with Jencks and Riesman's noted above. Individuals from low-income families are likely to have fathers with low occupational status and mothers with little education; in addition, they probably do not rank extremely high on measures of academic aptitude or educational expectations. The opposite is probably the case for high-income families. The finding, then, that low-income families respond more than high-income families to price-changes in higher education reflects these differences in other backround variables as much as the price change per se.

32. Further, within this middle income group, the ability to perform these financial acrobatics probably varies by parents' education and occupations thus further reducing the unique effect of income.

33. Of corse, the differences in where these men and women attended college might have been very great. We know, for instance, that women comprised 48 percent of two-year co-lege students in 1939.

34. As explained above, one reason that the results are inconclusive derives from the lack of data on black enrollments from 1964-1970. I argued, however, that in comparison with the lower class that had not mobilized, it appeared that blacks had indeed made greater inroads at the institutions than they had previously. This suggests that there is a tendency for social differentiation to proceed apace unless something intervenes to combat it. The fact, then, that blacks had not decreased in their representation at the better schools bears testimony, perhaps, to the fruits of their political mobilization.

35. The Occupational Changes in a Generation Survey collected data in 1973 on the last higher education institution attended by 20-64 year-old men. I expect that, if resources are available, I will carry out a more detailed analysis of changes in stratification within higher education using this data set. A cohort analysis would tell us, by race and socioeconomic status, how people have distributed themselves in institutions of higher education between approximately 1925 and 1965.

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